Unsettled Landscapes: The Narrative and Material Capacities of Landscape in the Post-War Croatian Hinterlands

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May 2020

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Architecture, University of Cambridge

DECLARATION

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

ABSTRACT

Historically, conflicts concerned with ethno-national identity, culture and borders have tended to take place in urban situations. Cities are thus distinct targets for group-based hostilities, and this has been the focus of a growing body of literature. Within the discourses on the legacy of conflict and violence suffered during the 1990's war in the Former Yugoslav Republic, Mostar, Vukovar, Sarajevo, and other cities have understandably been the focus of much research on the dynamics of conflict and memory within the built environment. This dissertation proposes an expansion beyond this attention to urban, social and cultural memory-scapes, a shift in the frame toward landscape, focussing on the historical violence in Croatia and its legacy for the cultural value of landscapes of conflict, and on memory making within those landscapes.

With architectural targets of destruction, the destruction itself often endows buildings with historical significance, but violence that takes place in the landscape affects cultural practice differently. Indeed, what is communicated in the destruction within and of a landscape is bound to its capability to efface, to weather, and deteriorate as well as to renew and regenerate. Landscape is perceived to be linked to the special temporal condition of the cyclical nature of growth and adaptation: it is afforded a perceived primordial status, a characterisation that can be seen as a kind of violence itself as these natural processes can physically conceal, alter, and suppress evidence of conflict and trauma. The manifestations of these perceptions of landscape shape the histories and biographies of place and mark the land as 'unsettled' in the ongoing processes of both place and memory making.

The dissertation explores the tensions in the materiality, spatiality, and temporality of landscape that impact the commemoration practices following the historical and more recent conflicts within Croatia. Original empirical research on two memorials in borderland landscapes contributes to contemporary discussions on the cultural spaces of memory in post war Croatia and, by implication, more broadly, by demonstrating that landscape affords particular opportunities and sets particular conditions for local and official memory practices in response to traumatic events. The dissertation argues that the dynamic relations between landscapes and memorials are linked to the politically discursive status of landscapes, their material and affective qualities, and their temporal condition, rendering them significant in themselves for the formation of cultural memories of conflict. Finally, the research advocates for an expanded notion of landscape to acknowledge the distinctive, complex, and integral role it can be understood to play in memorial dynamics.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am profoundly grateful to Dr Maximilian Sternberg for his confidence in and unfailing support of this project from the very beginning. As my supervisor he asked the right questions at the right time, returned patiently to my blind spots and reassured me when I was on the right path. Reading what must have felt like endless drafts he offered excellent advice on scholarly, professional and personal matters. His approach to the study of landscape, his commitment to his students and the department, and his critical, supportive and insightful comments have been truly inspirational.

This project has been greatly influenced by the work of Professor Wendy Pullan and my participation in the Centre for Urban Conflict Research (UCR) at the Department of Architecture. As both former Head of Department of Architecture and as Director of the UCR, Wendy has generously turned her expert attention to my research on many occasions. Her influential work on questions of place, memory, and conflict have been instrumental in the development of my own approach.

I could not have found a more welcoming and stimulating environment than the Department of Architecture and the UCR in particular. Previous 'generations' at the centre have provided inspiration and support including Anita Bakshi, Irit Katz, Hanna Baumann, Gruia Badescu, Andrew Hoolachan, Eve Avdoulos, and Alex Young Seo. Particular thanks are due to Britt Baillie for her generous support and encouragement at the early stages of this research and for sharing an advance draft of her chapter on the *Borovo Selo* and *Dudik* memorial in Croatia. For their community building efforts special thanks are due to Anwar Jabar, Ahmed El-Husseiny of my 'contemporary generation' and to those of the 'new generation' at the UCR Dena Qaddumi, Yasmina El Chami, Nadi Abusaada, Amy Batley, Michal Huss, Toby Parsloe, Kat Mizrokhi, and Sophia Singler. Theodora Bowering has been a source of much needed perspective, motivation and laughter as my friend, UCR colleague, and co-editor of the twenty-sixth issue of the department journal *Scroope*. This would have been a lonely process without their voices and companionship.

As a participant in many symposia at the Department of Architecture, I have benefitted from thoughtful critique by its faculty, including Professors Nick Bullock and François Penz, Dr Felipe Hernandez, and Dr Nick Simcik-Arese. I would also like to extend special thanks to Professor Duncan Bell at the Cambridge Department of Politics and International Studies for his comments on an early research proposal.

I gratefully acknowledge the generous support of the Kettles Yard and Faculty Fieldwork funds administered by the Department of Architecture. My appreciation and gratitude are also extended to the

Principal and Fellows of Newnham College for their continuous financial assistance throughout my time as a student. Particular thanks are owed to Dr Kate Fleet for her guidance as graduate tutor and for her considered questions during discussions in which my research overlapped with her expertise in Ottoman history.

The scholarships I received enabled me to conduct the necessary research in Croatia, The Hague, and Cambridge. The funds also allowed me to take advantage of a number of valuable opportunities to present my work at international conferences and to expose its subject and argument to challenges from cognate disciplines. In particular, I thank landscape scholars present at the 'Beyond "ism"' conference in Malmö, Sweden (2016) and at the University of Kent conference 'From Building to Continent' (2018); memory study researchers at the 'Memorialisation Unmoored' conference (2018) hosted by Dr Eve Zucker of Yale's Department of Anthropology and Dr David Simon of the Department of Political Science; and post conflict scholars at the European Architecture History Network conference 'Histories in Conflict' (Jerusalem, 2017) at which Professors Andrew Herscher and Daniel Monk encouraged me to think of the potential for my research questions beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Scholars to whom I am very grateful for their generosity with their time and thoughtful questioning of my research focus and direction include: Dr Yael Navaro-Yashin, Professor Anthony Vidler and Professor Peter Carl. I would also like to thank Professors Lora Senechal and Emma Widdis, two friends whose academic work I greatly admire, and who both generously consented to comment on drafts.

I thank the staff of the Croatian National Archives (HDA), the Croatian Memorial Documentation Center for the Homeland War (HMDCDR), the National and University Library in Zagreb (NUL) and the regional archives in Osijek for their support. For their invaluable archival and cartographic expertise, I would particularly like to thank Mira Miletić-Drder of the NUL, Dr Mirjana Jurić at the HDA and Ivo Zanić and Tomislav Pletenac at the HMDCDR. I am also grateful for fieldwork support and translation provided by Željko Trohe in Vukovar and Lovas.

I wish to recognise and thank my interlocutors for sharing their experiences in interviews, through acts of drawing and translation, and in many cases for guiding me through landscapes, which for them held difficult and anguished memories. In particular I acknowledge the municipal representatives and staff of the village of Lovas and the Conservation Department of the Ministry of Culture in Vukovar for their time and interest in my research. I would also like to thank my interlocutors in the Plitvice Lakes National Park. Each entrance into and departure from the park left marks on my thinking. I am grateful for those who live near its woods and waters for sharing their views on the park's many layers.

I thank Dr Martina Ivanuš for her time during our lengthy interviews and for granting me access to her archival research before its publication (in Croatian) on the Socialist period architecture of the Plitvice Park. Sandra Vialjić generously granted permission for me to use her photograph of the Lovas field from her published monograph *Infertile Grounds* (2012) for the purpose of this dissertation and for a paper I delivered in (2018) at the 'Alchemical Landscape' research seminar at Cambridge's Centre for the Research in the Arts and Social Humanities (CRASSH).

I also extend my gratitude to Professor Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci and Ana Supina at the Department of Architecture at Zagreb University for our discussions on, among other things, the significance of Croatian mountains as sites of memory. In particular I thank Ana for introducing me to valuable online sources for early military survey maps of Yugoslavia and the information systems made available by the relevant Croatian ministerial authorities. In The Hague, I would like to thank Andreas Kleiser the Director of Policy and Cooperation at the International Commission on Missing Persons and Kelly Canning communications liaison at the Judicial Records Unit of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia for their thoughtful answers to questions regarding the role of these supra-national agencies during and following the 1990s conflict.

The research conducted for Chapter Four was the empirical base of an article published in *Space and Polity* 23:3 (2019) under the title of 'Unsettled Landscapes: Traumatic Memory in a Croatian Hinterland.' This article was co-authored with Dr Max Sternberg, and as well as extending my thanks to him for working with me on such a rewarding project and for permission to include it in my dissertation, I gratefully acknowledge the comments of the two anonymous reviewers.

I am endlessly grateful to my parents for walking the land with me and for flying in to do the important things like make soup, tell stories and swim in rivers. I would also like to thank Jenny and David Loose for their unwavering support and for ensuring that adventures were had by all, and that time and space were made for both work and play. Friends both near and far have sustained me over the years it has taken me to complete this project. I am thankful for their acts of kindness and encouragement; there have been too many to count and name, but each one is felt and appreciated.

The greatest debt of gratitude is owed to my partner Matt and our daughters Tamsin and Zoe, for without their love and support this dissertation would not have been possible. They are my joy, and as learning is a gift, I am forever grateful for what they teach me every day.

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NOTE ON PLACE NAMES AND LANGUAGES

In the former Yugoslavia the official joint language was Serbo-Croatian. Since 1991, Serbo-Croatian has been divided into the historically separate languages of Serbian and Croatian. The Latin alphabet is used in the Croatian variant of Serbo-Croatian, and in Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro, diacritic marks are used with particular consonants in order to indicate sounds which have a separate sign in the Cyrillic alphabet.

Bilingualism and the rights of official minority languages, for example Serbian in Croatia and co-official languages such as Albanian in Kosovo, continue to be politically volatile issues. In his work on the targeting of architecture as a prominent dimension of political violence in the former Yugoslavia, Andrew Herscher (2010) argues that the designation of place names is a critical task. In fact, any process of nomination is violent, he argues, and there can be no 'proper' name for a place that adequately reflects all of its communities and representations, yet, places are and must be named (Ibid., xi).

In consideration of this view, the dissertation contains names for places that are conventionally used in English with the Croatian in parenthesis, for example the Plitvice Lakes (Croatian *Plitvička Jezera*). I use Serbian names and the Cyrillic alphabet when quoting from Serbian sources and Croatian names when discussing Yugoslav memorial sites in Croatia. I use Croatian place names as they are identifiable on contemporary maps of Croatia and also typically used in English texts concerning the 1990s conflicts. The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) had the tendency to use Serbian names for places and I deviate from this practice so as to be consistent with place names used by interlocutors who, whether Serbian or Croatian, used Anglicised or Croatian place names during interviews conducted in English or translated into English.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Bratstvo i jedinstvo	Brotherhood and Unity.
CAEN	Croatian Agency for Environment and Nature.
CROMAC	Croatian Mine Action Centre.
CISD	Croatian Institute for Spatial Development.
Četnik(s)	The name given to the Serbian nationalist movement led by Draža Mihailović during the Second World war. Initially an anti-Axis resistance movement, that supported the London-exiled Yugoslav royal family, Četnik militia units have also been accused of committing crimes against Croat and Muslim civilians in Croatia and Bosnia Herzegovina while collaborating with the occupiers and the NDH against the Communist Partisans. Generally associated with ideas of a 'Greater Serbia.' Also written as Chetnik(s).
Cominform	The commonly known name given to the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties (1947-1956). The official central organization of the International Communist Movement.
'Croatian War of Independence' (*Domovinski Rat)*	Also referred to as the Homeland War, this is the commonly used term in Croatia for the Croatian Republic's conflict with the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and with other Croatian-Serb paramilitary groups between 1991 and 1995. The date of the end of the conflict remains in dispute as the Croatian territory was not fully integrated until 1999 when the United Nations peacekeepers left the

	last ‘occupied’ areas and national reconstruction began.
Croatian MOD or MORH	Ministry of Defence (*Republika Hrvatska Ministarstvo Obrane*).
Croatian MUP	Croatian Ministry of the Interior (*Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova*).
EC	European Commission, the executive body for the European Union.
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment (UNESCO terminology).
EU	The European Union.
FRY	The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as proclaimed by Serbia and Montenegro declared 27th April 1992. Montenegro formally declared independence on 3 June 2006.
HDZ	Croatian Democratic Community (*Hrvatska demokratska zajednica*) often referred to in English sources as Croatian Democratic Union.
ICTY	The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.
IFOR	The NATO led multinational implementation force that superseded UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
ISC	Independent State of Croatia (1941-1945). Also referred to as NDH *(Nezavisna država Hrvatska)*.

IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature.
JNA	The Yugoslav People's Army, also referred to as the Yugoslav National Army (*Jugoslavenska narodna armija*).
Narodne novine	The official gazette of the Republic of Croatia publishes acts, laws, and regulations of the Croatian Parliament.
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.
NDH	Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*). From 1941-1945 the NDH controlled most of present-day Croatia, significant parts of what is now Bosnia and Herzegovina (also written as Hercegovina), and some north-western regions of Serbia.
NOB	Refers to 'The Peoples' Liberation Struggle' or 'the National Liberation War' used in SFRJ for the Second World War (*Narodno Osvobodilna Borba*).
Partisan(s)	The Partisans were a Yugoslav Resistance movement led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia during World War Two under the command of Josip Broz Tito.
PLNP	Plitvice Lakes National Park.
POW	Prisoner of War.
RS	Serbian Republic (of the Bosnian Serbs) (*Republika Srpska*). Includes most of the Bosnian Serb territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

RSK	Republic of Serbian Krajina *(Republika Srpska Krajina*). Disbanded in 1995.
Sabor	The Croatian Parliament *(Hrvatski sabor)*.
SAO	Serbian Autonomous Province (*Srpska autonomna oblast*).
SAOK	Serbian Autonomous Province of Krajina (*Srpska autonomna oblast Krajina*).
SAO-SBZS	Serbian Autonomous Province of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem (*Srpska autonomna oblast Slavonija, Baranja I Zapadni Srem*).
SFRJ/ SFRY	The Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia (1948 – 1991/1992) (*Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija*). The date on which the SFRJ ceased to exist under European law is debated. It is generally considered to be between 25 June 1991 and 26 April 1992. Also written as SFRY.
SKH	League of Communists of Croatia (*Savez komunista Hrvatske*).
SOUV	Statement of Outstanding Universal Value. A term used in UNESCO World Heritage site documentation.
Spomenik / Spomenici (plural)	Serbo-Croatian term used for monument(s).
SUBNOR	The Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War (*Savez udruženja boraca Narodno-oslobodilačkog rata*). Savez udruženja boraca narodnooslobodilačkog rata (SUBNOR) was a war veterans Union made up of former partisans and 'National Liberation War' supporters (it did not

	represent all war veterans). The Union also held significant administrative influence in the decade after the war in particular as it was tasked with soldiers' pensions and support payment negotiations and decisions. The Board was founded in Belgrade in 1952 and existed until 1962 when it was dissolved and not replaced. It consisted of approximately fifteen members, including surviving national heroes and high-ranking political republicans as well as members of the central committee of the communist party of Yugoslavia; there was also a representative from the organisation, *Women in Black*.
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
UNHCR	The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
UNPROFOR	The United Nations Protection Force for the former Yugoslavia, active from 1992 to 1995.
Ustaša / *Ustaše (plural*)	The radical Croat fascist nationalist organisation established by Ante Pavelić in 1929. The Ustaśa created the Independent State of Croatia (ISC) (NDH- *Nezavisna država Hrvatska*) supported by Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, from 1941-1945. The Ustaša were responsible for mass murder, concentration and extermination camps, and systematic persecution of non-Croat civilians mostly Serbs, Roma and Jews. Anglicised versions also used in the literature include Ustasha and Ustashas.

Introduction

The choice that we have is not between remembering and forgetting; because forgetting can't be done by an act of will, it is not something we can choose to do. The choice is between different ways of remembering…

Tzvetan Todorov, *Hope and Memory*. [1]

[1] (Todorov 2003, 311).

Historically, the study of conflicts concerned with ethno-national identity, culture and borders has tended to focus on urban situations. Cities are indeed significant targets for group-based hostilities, and this has been the emphasis of a growing body of literature. Within the discourses on the legacy of conflict and violence suffered during the 1990's war in the Former Yugoslav Republic, Mostar (Palmberger 2016), Vukovar (Baillie 2013a; 2013b), Sarajevo (Zanić 2007; Ristic 2018a; 2018b), and other cities have understandably been the focus of much research on the dynamics of conflict and memory within the built environment. This dissertation proposes an expansion beyond this attention to urban, social and cultural memory-scapes. It offers a shift in the frame toward landscape, focussing on the historical violence in Croatia and its legacy for the cultural value of landscapes of conflict, and on memory making within those landscapes. With architectural targets of destruction, the destruction itself often endows buildings with historical significance, but violence that takes place in the landscape affects cultural practice differently. Indeed, what is communicated in the destruction within and of a landscape is bound to its capability to efface, to weather, and deteriorate as well as to renew and regenerate. While landscape is perceived to be linked to the special temporal condition of the cyclical nature of growth and adaptation: it is afforded a perceived primordial status, a characterisation that can be seen as a kind of violence itself as these natural processes can physically conceal, alter, and suppress evidence of conflict and trauma.

The dissertation explores the tensions in the materiality, spatiality, and temporality of landscape that impact the commemoration practices with a focus on recent conflicts and how their commemoration is embedded in memory cultures that look back further, in particular to the events of World War Two. This dissertation is based on original empirical research on two memorials in borderland landscapes. It contributes to contemporary discussions on the cultural spaces of memory in post war Croatia. It focuses on how landscape affords particular opportunities and sets particular conditions for local and official memory practices in response to traumatic events. The dissertation argues that the dynamic relations between landscapes and memorials are linked to the politically discursive status of landscapes, their material and affective qualities, and their temporal condition, rendering them significant in themselves for the formation of cultural memories of conflict. Finally, the research advocates for an expanded notion of landscape to acknowledge the distinctive, complex, and integral role it can be understood to play in memorial dynamics.

The memorial landscapes discussed in this dissertation reflect the protean nature of nature, public memory and monuments. I apply the term 'unsettled' to the post conflict Croatian hinterlands in order to draw attention to the processual modes of instability and mutability in/between/of their memorial and landscape dynamics. With unsettled landscape as the location, the scene of violent past events is examined as a contested and politicised symbolic medium through which identity, power and society are (re)produced and are therefore perpetually open to contentious and fractious cultural politics. The legacy of the socialist era memorial landscapes and the distinctive memory politics of that period are shown to be

an exemplary example of this. There are additional sources of dynamism, dissonance, intervention, and disruption in memorial landscapes, however, some originating from interactions with the physical context of the landscape itself. The dissertation draws attention to the many diverse sense(s) in which Croatian memorial landscapes are considered 'layered,' unsettled in the ways in which they resist unified identities and instead invoke a 'gathering' together (Heidegger 2002; Tilley and Cameron-Daum 2017) or 'consignation' (Derrida 1996; Vinegar and Otero-Pailos 2011) of multiple and possibly divergent signs, rendering them a distributed archive of a kind or perhaps a 'distributed monument' (Herscher 2011). This is a concept which suggests that the locus of meaning and materiality is not fixed in any one spatiotemporal moment or object (as in a conventional monument) but is instead interwoven within multiple extended senses of site. The natural condition of landscape to renew and regenerate responds to the ossification identified and critiqued in traditional monuments (Young 1992). Memorial landscapes can interrupt understandings of durability and responsibility, thereby shifting the burden from the monument to the living. Here, lack of engagement or maintenance with the memorial landscape would leave the memory and the monument, its prosthetic, vulnerable to decay and overgrowth, and the disinterest of the quotidian, or fetishisation of the tourist.

0.1 Dissertation Contribution

Recent scholarship has revealed the importance of place in the memory culture and politics of traumatised communities in urban borderlands, underlining the diversity of local experiences, the role of everyday life, and the agency of local actors in the contemporary context of global challenges (Gordy 2012; Winter 2010; Jansen 2002).[2] I argue that landscape settings in the hinterlands of state borders play a role no less significant in mediating the complex dynamics of conflict and its aftermath for local commemorative practice.

This dissertation widens the focus afforded to urban sites of memory to include hinterlands as post-conflict sites of analysis. Based on original empirical research at the Plitvice Lakes National Park and the village of Lovas, two memorial sites that mark violent events of the 1990s, it argues for a biographic/topographic analysis of local, state, and in some instances supra-state interventions in post-conflict landscapes in order to expand existing understandings of tensions between official and local carriers of memory in Croatia. I argue that theories of landscape can be deployed to complement, develop, and challenge existing literature concerned with memory in post-hostility Croatia. Therefore, the dissertation engages with current debates surrounding different definitions of landscape and its agency,

[2] For recent contributions to the literature see: (Andersen and Prokkola 2018; Sternberg 2017; Anderson et al. 2016; Zhurzhenko 2014; Cierco 2014; Painter 2008; Staiger and Steiner 2009; Sierp and Wüstenberg 2015; Meinhof and Galasiński, 2002).

advocating for the enlargement of the term to incorporate its material and discursive capacities in the contexts of unsettled sites.

This dissertation presents analysis to respond to the following research questions: How has landscape been appropriated to mediate the memory of traumatic events in Croatian hinterlands? How do these appropriations manifest in the perceptions and uses of landscape by locals and by national officials? Finally, what are the implications of the findings for theoretical conceptions of the agency of landscape?

Post-Conflict Places of Memory in Former Yugoslavia: Issues Raised in Existing Literature

Existing research (mainly in regard to urban sites) from a range of disciplines has investigated memorial sites and their accompanying commemorative practices in order to develop and challenge conceptions of memory politics in post-hostility Croatia. These analyses have focused primarily on cultural memory with regard to a series of key elements.[3] In relation to the legacy of suppressed memories in the former Yugoslavia, the stress is largely on the consequences of 'cover-ups' and enforced 'forgetting' that emerged under Tito (Karge 2009) and the implications of this inheritance on practices of commemoration (Pauković, Pavlaković and Višeslav 2012), research that is only partially concerned with materiality and focuses more on legacies of discourse and power. Prominent in these scholarly inquiries are sites where memories are negotiated by competing communities of memory including rival exhumations (Wagner 2015; Ballinger 2004; Verdery 1999), graves (Pavlaković 2008; Frykman 2003), monuments (Herscher 2015; Horvantinčić 2015; Burghardt and Kirn 2014; Sahovic and Zulumovic 2015), and public squares (Pavlaković and Pauković 2019; Rihtman-Auguštin 2004). Much of this research examines the socio-political significance of public acts of reconstruction and renovation, of dismantling and renaming the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) material culture in the post-socialist successor republics, often highlighting the importance of these physical reminders of trauma and suffering regardless of victory or defeat, heroism or victimhood. Others argue that individual as well as national constructions of identity are intangibly linked to place and memories of trauma can linger or 'simmer' (Drozdzewski *et al.* 2016, 3) making buildings, monuments, even cityscapes potential sites for orchestrated remembrance which may fuel further conflict (Baillie 2013b; Badescu 2017).

[3] The controversial term 'collective memory' and its usage is traced by Jeffrey Olick (2007, 7-8) who attributes the term to the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs who defined it as memory that is socially embedded and only endures through the frameworks and spaces provided by social groups in the present (*cadres sociaux de la mémoire*). The landscape serves the role of the social framework of memory, *les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* in Halbwachs' terminology, with memories materially embedded alongside the ritual commemorations of violence (Ibid., 38; Connerton 1989). In Halbwachs' *les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire*, he refers to the endurance of collective memories indexed in architectural places (e.g. ruins and monuments). The situating of these collective memories in a material framework, however, does not necessarily result in their stability as they are still subject to the context of their social construction. See Halbwachs (1980 [1925]). Bilsel (2017sees a contrast with Halbwach's later work (1925-45) in which he defines 'collective memory' as deliberately unstable in contrast to a record preserved in material culture.

Nation-based memories of war and their links to articulations of national identity and state efforts to sustain certain narratives of the past, for both the present and future notions of cultural and collective identity are of primary concern to the literature (Levy and Sznaider 2005; Rigney 2012). Understandings of the politics of belonging and re-evaluations of notions of ancestry and territory are also key themes. These include concepts of nationhood and soil, the 'ancestry cult,' the historical role and consequences of ethno-national tensions in Croatia (Pavlaković 2012a; 2013; Ballinger 2003), and the actors and agents who have often controlled the memory work (in particular the state and the Franciscan Order of the Catholic Church in rural Croatia) (Schäuble 2011; 2014; Perica 2006). Scholarly inquiry is also focused on considerations of the diversity of meanings ascribed to and inscribed in sites by multiple stakeholders, and their varying degrees of impact and claims to legitimacy (Potkonjak and Pletenac 2016; Subotić 2019a; Pullan and Baillie 2013; Ristic 2018; Sindbæk Andersen and Törnquist-Plewa 2016; Ashplant, Dawson and Roper 2000; Ray 2006; Bell 2006). In attending to the politics of memory these investigations focus not only on how power impacts and influences the experience of representations of memory, but also how it affects the (re)production, maintenance and performance of identity. With memory understood as firmly grounded in its links to place and identity, more recent work has emphasised the ways memory and identity 'travel' and are 'multidirectional,' untethering the concepts from the nation-state as the dominant natural carrier (Rothberg 2009; Erll 2016; Huyssen 2003; Olick 2016). A subset of the literature privileges a spatial focus on memorial sites, the events that take place within them and (although often less observed) the everyday locations of memory, often drawing attention to the experiential in affective spaces as a means of understanding and making sense of individual and state narratives of the past (Skey and Antonsich 2017; Navaro-Yashin 2009).

The dissertation will draw on this critical literature in order to explore how landscapes impact memorial practice in post-conflict Croatia. Landscape, is generally ancillary to existing studies, whereas in this dissertation, the empirical research I undertook at two sites forms the lens with which I reframe existing understandings of a series of tensions within landscape. In particular this dissertation studies the tensions inherent in landscape between official and local 'negotiations,' as well as 'layers' and 'accretions' of memory at these particular memorial sites.[4]

[4] In his work on 'multidirectional memory,' Rothberg (2009) focuses on sites of tension and the dynamics of memory involved in remembrance of the Nazi genocide of European Jews in relation to slavery, colonialism, and decolonization. He argues that memory works 'productively through negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing' and the result of memory conflict is 'not less memory, but more.' In the context of commemoration controversies in Selma, Alabama, Dwyer (2004) analyses the antagonistic histories that occur in a single place and suggests that a 'process of accretion' is at play as commemorative elements are appended to existing memorials. In both accounts' tensions and processes of memory negotiation are considered productive, in the sense that they accumulate meanings.

0.2 Dissertation Methodology

The dissertation adopts a mixed-methodology design strategy which is commonly used for research in architectural history and theory (Groat and Wang 2013). Interpretive-historical, mobile participatory, and qualitative strategies are employed within this design and conducted concurrently. Tactics for the interpretive strategy include analysis of: archival documentation of topography, including maps, at state and regional levels of government; media sources; and official documents of international organizations (e.g. UNESCO and the ICTY); and visual and textual analyses of landscape representations. I have also analysed sources from the Judicial Records Unit of the ICTY that include evidentiary materials, photographs, diaries, maps, witness drawn diagrams, exhumation records and physical objects found in mass graves.

There are three main research methods involved in the design. The first is the theoretical research, that builds on the existing body of literature concerned with concepts of landscape, memory, and conflict, as well as discussions of these subjects across interrelated disciplines (landscape studies; urban and architectural theory; social, political and cultural geography; anthropology; and heritage, border and memory studies).[5] The second is archival research into the history of Yugoslavia following World War Two, the socio-spatial conditions of its collapse, and historical as well as contemporary accounts of the wars of the 1990s. This archival research took place at The Croatian National Archives (HDA), the Croatian Memorial Documentation Centre for the Homeland War (HMDC), and the National and University Library in Zagreb (NUL), and the regional archives in Osijek, Croatia.

The third and final suite of research methods is increasingly used in landscape research (Ingold 2000; Ingold and Vergunst 2016; Solnit 2000; Lorimer and Lund 2003; Wylie 2002; 2005; Macpherson 2016), and emerges from the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry 2006; Macpherson 2016). This paradigm builds on phenomenology and on historical philosophical thought linking the mobile body to understandings of landscape (Heidegger 1962; Merleau-Ponty 1962), to non-representational theories (Thrift 2000) or more-than-representational theories (Lorimer 2005); and to non-cartesian theories of time-space (de Certeau 1984; Lefebvre 1991).[6] Over the last decade, as a response to wider post-structuralist and postcolonial critiques, a 'cultural turn' in landscape studies has highlighted the symbolic relationship between the physical landscape and the representation of that landscape. This has generated greater awareness of the tensions between notions such as natural and cultural; natural heritage and

[5] See for example the following works: Barnes and Duncan 1992; Bender and Aitken 1998; Bender, Hamilton and Tilley 2007; Duncan and Ley 1993; Mitchell 1986; 1994; Rose 2006; 2011; Tilley 1994a; 1994b; 1999; 2004; Anderson and Wylie 2009.

[6] A famous example is de Certeau's classic essay 'Walking in the City' which draws attention to the relationality between walker and urban landscape, which results in the enhanced perception of certain sites through memory and practice.

natural landscape; and cultural heritage and cultural landscape (see for instance, Harvey 2015; Olwig and Lowenthal 2006; Setten 2004).

Increasingly, work on landscape has tended to stress the dynamic and processual nature of nature, often reflected in the expression that landscape is in a constant state of *becoming*, 'potentially conflicted, untidy and uneasy' (Bender and Winer 2001, 3; Harvey 2012).[7] This work has focused attention on the intangible, the experiential, and the emotional, as well as the haptic and sensual human body, within the interpretive framework for the study of landscapes. The new awareness arising from this scholarship has generated both a critique of a Cartesian mode of representation that separates 'us' from 'the world' (Harvey 2015, 912) and opportunities to explore alternative methods for the study of crucial 'elements of contingency and context,' promoting the acknowledgement of affective properties that 'lie beyond, or behind, standard modes of representation' (Ibid.). 'Memory landscapes' (or *Erinnerungslandschaft*) is a useful term, borrowed from Rudi Koshar (2000, 9) in his study of German collective memory; it connotes the mnemonic qualities 'not only of architectural landmarks and monuments in the narrow sense, but also of street names, public squares, historic sites such as World War II bunkers, or former concentration camps, and even whole townscapes or natural landscapes.'[8] Captured within the term are both the material and symbolic elements of memory and landscape; the objects and semiotic markers that we can see, touch and hear, map, photograph, record, and draw; but it also refers to a 'sense of place' (Agnew 1987) and the inherent, potential and constructed 'mnemonic energies' (Assmann 1995, 129 quoting Warburg) that, while intangible, might still be articulated.

Difficulties and debates arise around issues of method and data collection for these approaches, however, coalescing around the problem of how to access the 'more-than-representational' and how to represent embodiment and affect (Waterton 2018, 98):

> Researchers inevitably have to represent it in a plane of interpretation that is not only essentially representational but also open to intrusion from other representational sources. Conducting research with a more-than-representational bent thus requires additional approaches and vocabularies.

[7] Harvey (2015) argues that recent scholarly histories of heritage and landscape studies are closely aligned with their 'epistemological, ideological and methodological twists and turns progressing amid a common intellectual space' (see also Harvey 2012, 152). The emphasis on process and practice then applied to both subdisciplines means that the ambulatory and participatory methods discussed here are also a concern for contemporary heritage studies. For an overview within heritage studies see: (Waterton and Watson 2010; 2015.)

[8] See also the discussion on the use of Koshar's definition of memory landscapes in De Nardi and Drozdzewki (2018, 429). They propose that the key to comprehending how memory and landscape influence each other is 'knowing how to read them.' They do not, however, engage the theories that make parallels between landscape and literature (Spirn 1998) and the critiques that have been levelled at these theories (Olin 2011; Doherty 2014; Doherty and Waldheim 2016).

Some theorists are advocating evolution rather than invention: not the abandonment of more conventional research methods and representations, but the encouraging of methodological experimentation (Crang 2003; Latham 2003). In the wake of non-representational theory's critique of thematic and discursive focus on static representations, such as texts and images, new approaches are being developed that aim to 'tell small stories' (Lorimer 2003a) in creative forms of geographical historiography. In a series of articles Hayden Lorimer (2003a, b, 2006) reframes the challenge of methodological innovation made by these critiques: 'The key requirement is a creative engagement with, and imaginative interpretation of, conventional "representational" sources, rather than the identification of a previously ignored or oppositional realm of non-representational practice' (Lorimer; 2003a, 203). This dissertation pursues methods both existing and emerging that emphasize the ways in which people and landscapes coproduce memorial events and experiences. This third strand of the methodology is the most critical for the dissertation and has heavily informed the bulk of the empirical research.

Walking Landscapes as Method

Drawing on this recent scholarship, studies that investigate encounters with landscapes are increasingly using mobile participatory, ethnographic and qualitative methods. Often referred to as 'walking methods,' 'accompanied visits,' 'wandering method' or 'go-alongs' they seek to reveal the 'multiple and dynamic ways in which landscapes come into being, are experienced, valued, imagined and re-assembled by different people at different times in different ways through varied habits, practices and technologies' (Macpherson 2016, 2; Schultz and Van Etteger 2017). Used in conjunction with semi-formal interviews, documentary photography, participant observation, cognitive mapping, site analysis, and participant site observations, mobile methods have been used in my research to add 'texture' to representations of place and landscape and as a way to deepen the understanding of perceptions of landscape as distinctive places of memory.[9]

Walking methods are particularly relevant in landscape research, as the landscape presents itself to individual interlocutors as a prompt for disclosure or discussion or even silence. Walking experiences are collected in real time with the aid of photographs and audio recordings, which are then interpreted off-site and related to the wider context of the research framework. Walking methods may present opportunities for new knowledge of landscape through 'ambulatory vision' (Ingold 2000), better still what Bender calls 'ambulatory encounters' (2001, 5). However, it is understood that lived perceptions or responses to landscapes are not simply and unproblematically 'revealed' (Macpherson 2016; Myers 2011). The

[9] In their edited volume Adams, Hoelscher and Till (2001, xiii) use *texture* to describe a place in order to draw attention to its paradoxical nature. Texture may be thought of as only a surface, but it is where object and subject merge and therefore its distinctive qualities may be profound: 'the shape, feel and texture of a place each provides a glimpse into the processes, structures, spaces, and histories that went into its making.' Texture then is associated closely with context and it is in this regard that I also employ it as a value here.

embodied act of walking and the bodies of those walking carry diverse and dynamic individual contexts and cultural circumstances (Edensor 2010). The walking methods used in my two case studies, then, are not only engaged to gain knowledge of the landscape but also to investigate its relational capacities, the complex interdependent nature of ideas of landscape, and the experiences of each landscape for each walking interlocutor.

Landscape can come to be known relationally through the practice of walking –but not solely (Macpherson 2016).[10] The dissertation argues against a singular or 'authentic' representation or experience of a landscape and also argues against a singular method of its apprehension. 'Thinking landscape relationally' (Crouch 2010, 13) requires more than what an embodied sense can reveal. As Crouch contends, 'the emergent landscape evoked in any one location may bear traces of other, earlier experiences there and elsewhere, merging the ways in which landscape happens, relationally.'[11] The investigation of these traces requires additional awareness of the historical conditions, subjectivities and embodied experiences embedded in the multiple (and multiplying) frameworks in which landscapes are encountered. The methodological consequences of phenomenological work are not without criticism (Hill 2013; Johnson 2012; Jones 2011; Steiner and Sternberg 2015; Tolia-Kelly 2006) and in the selection of methods for this dissertation I have sought to use an array of creative and reflective research methods that acknowledge practice, performance, and affect with 'temporal depth' (Harvey 2015, 913) and to submit critical accounts of events in the present, not as isolated and 'memory-less' (Jones 2011, 875), but embedded within a specific historical and political context.

Mapping Landscapes as Method

The awareness of the manipulative power of maps and cartographic conventions has long since been an academic concern (Cosgrove 2008; Harley 1988; 1989; Wood and Fels 1992). Geographers and others have argued for decades that maps are not neutral representations of the world, but rather reflect the

[10] In her 2016 article Macpherson critiques the 'methodological orthodoxy' of walking methods that risks ignoring the diverse contexts and cultural circumstances within which people walk and the relational qualities of landscape. In particular she questions the presumed utility of 'rapport' that research walks are often thought to create and notes that critical consideration of the cultural context of the walker's body is required. Although she cautions the methodological choice of walking as it may generate positive dispositions (due to the endorphins that pleasurable walks generate) she does not discuss what the impact of trauma on the walking body traversing a traumatic landscape or the potential or the obstacles this may pose for the researcher.

[11] Given the focus on interpretation of experience in landscape the research methods of this dissertation build on insights from the phenomenological and hermeneutic tradition of analysis, in which interpretation is part of the finite and situated character of knowledge. Similarly, landscape theorist Elisabeth Meyer (1997, 71) applies the principles of phenomenology to 'theory making' and advocates for its necessary inclusion in the study of landscapes. For her, landscape knowledge is always situational; 'it is explicitly historical, contingent, pragmatic, and ad hoc' and meaning is to be found in the material site and in the relationships that interconnect with it. See also critique of the 'subjectivist' position or 'situated knowledge' taken by Meyer and Corner (1990; 1991) see also (Deming and Swaffield 2015, 33).

agendas of those who create them and the power relations in which they were constructed.[12] However, recent scholarship has revisited the projective potential of maps as intersubjective and capable of describing complex ground conditions (Waldheim and Desimini 2016; Corner 1999). Maps offer highly 'authored' views of a site and are therefore interesting for their potential to reveal the privileged and competing features and forces acting on the land. Recent developments in cartography and recent spatial theories have included discussions of the practice and theoretical underpinnings of critical mapping (Wood 2013), where the representation of complicated networks of site forces and interactions is not sufficient to understand the dynamics of a site and its particular cartographic narratives. Deep mapping is a cartographic technique within the field of critical mapping and intends to include 'thick descriptions' proposed in the work of anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) and spatial narratives of all kinds, and as such the act of site drawing and cognitive map making are appropriate methods for the research focus of this dissertation.

In partnership with the concept of thick description as a means to understand the complexity of behaviour, deep mapping is a technique for understanding the diversity of relationships that take place, in a place.[13] The findings that emerge require recognition that all representations have authors, and this is nowhere truer than in the case of drawn maps such as those I have used in my research. Architect and urban ethnographer Suzanne Hall (2010, 8), cautions that 'the associated risk is that the drawings remain as emblematic or positivistic representations of space: where images symbolise rather than actualise how individuals connect their local world to the city and the world.'[14] She describes her work using a method she calls 'picturing,' which is both the process of making the picture that emerges out of ethnographic and survey work, and the process of looking at it afterward. Similar to the critique of processes used in walking methods, drawing is used here as an analytic tool rather than a representation, since the process itself raises research questions and reveals the limitations of research.

It is among these methods for understanding maps, drawings and other representations that I locate my own. Interlocutors' and scholars' perceptions of memorial landscapes may resist traditional cartographic mapping and may require a different representational response.[15] Maps are used in this dissertation as

[12] See: (Harley 1988, 270–312).
[13] This dissertation has been inspired by the cartographic work of the *Conflict in Cities* project and in particular by the mapping techniques and methodology employed by Anita Bakshi to map the memory of the ethnically divided buffer zone in Cyprus. *Conflict in Cities* (2012), *Briefing Papers* 1-10, also (Bakshi 2012).
[14] As my research concerns the sensitive themes of memory, conflict, and trauma, I was conscious especially during interviews, that my position as someone from 'outside' the social and cultural situation may cause offense or harm. It was critical that I was aware of my position as a researcher in each context, and for semiformal or formal interviews I was careful to prepare the interlocutor by early disclosure of the content of my research and to offer to present the intended interview questions in advance. I sought permission to record and transcribe the formal interviews and anonymised all materials unless consent was expressly provided by the interlocutors to use their names.
[15] Conflict in Cities, 'Coping with Conflict: Dealing with Everyday Life in Divided Cities,' *Conflict in Cities Briefing Paper* (2012). Research on the city of Brussels revealed that although divisive spatial qualities often

hybrid tools that attempt to reflect, as J.D. Hunt has argued, that landscape of any kind, whether designed, cultural, or (increasingly rare) 'untouched,' contain the materials of its history (Hunt 2016, 247):

> The past events (including its geology) and everything else that has happened there, the plants that are native to it, have been seeded by wind or birds, or been introduced by humans, and whatever formal cultural interventions have occurred. But that landscape, historical in itself, is not a history; it requires somebody to tell the story, to narrate, describe and, where appropriate, declare its historical meanings or significance…to attest in their own way to something of its history—but only "something," because history finally requires words, even though words may or must liaise with visual imagery.

In Hunt's formulation landscape has a history grounded in geology, climate, topography and cultural activities over a long duration, often centuries, and it is the narration of this history (with an ambiguous relation to its visualisation) which is contingent on narrators and their audience (Doherty and Waldheim 2016, 5; Brace and John-Putra 2010). The archival maps for the Plitvice Lakes before and after it became a National Park are in many cases part-map and part-topographical view, which allows for these mixed narrations of geology, climate, topography, and cultural activities and draws attention to their interconnectedness. The maps for the minefield in the case study of Lovas may be read as a hybrid in a different sense. They are on site co-productions with interlocutors. The representations mark landscape imaginaries in an iterative process involving multiple drafting hands to develop the layered markings of multiple narrative elements.

The research on which this dissertation is based was conducted between October 2015 and December 2018. Site visits to the village of Lovas and to the Plitvice Lakes were organised in order to coincide with important memorial events, to account for the seasonal variation in the landscapes, and to provide interview opportunities. During my fieldwork I employed a combination of the qualitative methods discussed above, including semi-structured walking interviews, participant observation, informal conversations, and guided tours. A common practice running through my diverse research methods was listening to narratives while in the landscape settings to which the narratives referred. The personal past is mediated by a host of significant factors, in particular the fact that 'much of what we remember is suffused with others' memories—which are themselves suffused with *other* others' memories' and this 'second hand' material is enfolded into 'first hand' material through a process of narrativization (Freeman 2010, 264). When Freeman asks – 'what can it possibly mean to speak of memory?' — he is pointing to the destabilising idea of the reconstructive nature of personal memory (Ibid., 264). My walking interviews

take on recognisable forms, other subtler forms require different analysis. I also sought guidance for my research governance from the *Conflict in Cities Research Ethics Framework* developed in 2008.

with interlocutors in landscape settings constitute a method I use to record the richly textured, multivalent relationship between the narrated personal past and the *being-affected-by* the landscape (Ibid., 263). This is not to imply that it is possible to separate landscape from other factors neatly and completely, but rather to recognise the landscape as entangled with and co-constitutive of the process of remembering and to question what kind of factor that it may be in the narrative of each interlocutor.

My research visits to the Plitvice park were with single guides or with tour groups. I also spent time solo walking in the parkland, which allowed me to experience the landscape at different times of day and across multiple seasons. My analysis is based on fifteen interviews with local park residents and workers including two generations of park guides, a mother, Marjana, and her son, Luka, and domestic, regional, and international tourists visiting the park. I conducted additional interviews with a heritage scholar and with architectural historians at the University of Zagreb.[16] All informal interviews were conducted in the park, walking along its paths, stopping at its cafés and restaurants, or in its parking lots, or on its electric trains and boats and in tour kiosks. Two formal interviews were conducted off site, one with Marjana who received me at her home in a village near one entrance to the park, and the other with Dr. Martina Ivanuš from the Croatian Conservation Institute in Zagreb, with whom I spoke via Skype. Additional site visits were made to other commemorative sites, including nearby private roadside memorials from the 1990s war as well as locally financed and constructed memorials from the socialist period on the current borders with Bosnia Herzegovina and Slovenia [Figure 0.1 and 0.2]. In March 2017, with the support of a translator I attended the annual commemoration that marks the 1991 death of Josip Jović, widely recognised as the first fallen police officer; his death signified the start of hostilities that lead to war. I conducted informal interviews at this event, and these are further supported by visual research methods including the interpretation of photographic and media representations of the commemorative anniversary in the park. A series of photographs that I took at the event are interpreted in relation to the discursive space of other historical visual and spatial materials that depict the Plitvice Lakes, e.g., maps depicting the battle fronts of the war in the 1990s that closely mirror the triple military frontier of the Ottoman, Austrian and Venetian imperial powers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Lovas case study analysis is based on three field trips to the site of a former minefield in the municipality of Lovas and to other commemorative sites in the wider border region of Eastern Slavonia, including the neighbouring city of Vukovar.

[16] Names of all interlocutors in the Plitvice Lakes case study have been changed to protect their anonymity.

0.1 Roadside monument erected ‘unofficially’ for Željko Brozović who died in the 1990s conflict: Tounj, Karlovac County, Croatia, 26 August 2017.

0.2 Roadside monument erected by the villagers of Jelovice (1987) ‘In memory of fallen soldiers and victims of fascist terror’: Lanišće, Istria County, Croatia near the border with Slovenia, 25 August 2017.

The primary site of study was first identified through a search for the term 'landscape' in the court records at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY).[17] This is not a commonly used search term according to a representative of the International Criminal Tribunal Archives and Records Section,[18] and it does not often appear in the 2.5 million pages of transcripts. The more specific terms 'river', 'woods', 'ravine', 'valley,' and 'field' are more frequently found. In this legal context, field (*polje*) most often refers to an agricultural field as a site of execution, mass grave, or minefield, as in the case of Lovas, and as such it references specific indexical sites that became material exhibits in court.[19] Identifying the site in this way draws attention to the challenge of conceiving of the original condition of places that were once perhaps sites of pastoral beauty and seasonal rural practices, and points to the complexity involved in encountering landscapes that are both crime scene and memorial (Assmann 2011, 365-366, see also Lowenthal 2007).[20]

The Lovas case study is based on ten qualitative, semi-structured interviews, including in situ and 'go-along' ambulatory interviews, conducted in Croatian with the support of a local interpreter. In October 2016, the initial interview was with Ivan Mujić, deputy mayor of Lovas, also a witness and survivor of the violent minefield event in the 1990s war. The local aftermath of this massacre is the primary subject of this chapter. The interviews generally took place in two locations, first in the municipal building where Ivan (as I came to know him) currently works and where in October 1991 he and other Croat civilian prisoners were held in detention by Serb paramilitaries.[21] Other interlocutors included two additional survivors, municipal workers engaged in memorial funding applications to the EU, a representative of the

[17] The tribunal officially closed on 31 December 2017 and archival functions are now carried out by the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals (IRMCT). The Judicial Records and Archives Database (JRAD) provides access to all IRMCT public judicial records, as well as to the public judicial archive records of the ICTY. The ICTY dealt with war crimes that took place during conflicts in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

[18] Theoretical work in memory studies has focused on the interpretive uses (and challenges) of witness testimony particularly regarding the un-speakability and un-representability of the trauma and violence of the Holocaust and the events of World War II. A selection of this vast and expanding field include (Felman and Laub 1992) 'first theory of testimony' which explores and emphasises the relationship between trauma and the breakdown of speech. The use of witness testimony in research is debated within trauma and memory studies, for example, (Hirsch and Spitzer 2009) argue that within memory studies witness testimony has engendered two distinctive interpretive uses one that promotes a 'troubling idiom of exceptionalism' and the other, transnational memory cultures. For studies of witness perception of the trial process at the ICTY including witness testimony of the siege of Vukovar see (Stover 2015).

[19] Indictments for the war crimes alleged in Lovas were brought against senior officials Slobodan Milošević, the then President of the Republic of Serbia on May 24, 1999 and Goran Hadzić on March 22, 2012 President of the self-proclaimed breakaway region of Serbian Autonomous Oblast (SAO-SBZS) of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem. Both Milošević and Hadzić died before the completion of their trials. See: The Prosecutor of the Tribunal against Slobodan Milošević Second Amended Indictment Case No. IT-02-54-T (October 23, 2002); The Prosecutor of the Tribunal against Goran Hadzić Indictment Case No. IT-04-75-I (May 21, 2004).

[20] Aleida Assmann (2011, 365-366) writes of visitors to Auschwitz who are confronted with the complexity of a place that is at one and the same time a museum, a site of criminal violence and a memorial. This is a condition that may soon afflict the minefield site in Lovas, as there are discussions and design plans for a memorial centre as part of its development as discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

[21] ICTY-Hadžić, (2012) IT-04-75-Testimony of Witness: GH-095.

Women in Black association from Belgrade, and the local producer of a recently released documentary film about the event. One additional interview was carried out in The Hague with a representative of the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP).[22]

As with the Plitvice Lakes case study, the interviews are complemented by visual and spatial research methodologies, including drawing, mapping, and re-enactment. The initial interview in the municipal building resulted in the first iteration of a hand drawn map of the minefield, spontaneously drawn by Mr. Mujić. The 'go along' interview in the former clover field resulted in the first re-enactment of the movement made by the prisoners as they were ordered by Serb paramilitaries to walk through the field, which was planted with mines.[23] The drawing of the minefield map and the embodied act of traversing the field were both spontaneously repeated in the interviews on two subsequent visits. After the initial interview the maps produced were co-created with the interlocutors as communicative aids to recollect the past and its spatialisation. Although those who were interviewed did not necessarily reflect on landscape or on how their spatial practices related to it, the specific landscape of the minefield is represented in the mental and imaginary constructs of the maps and was repeatedly evoked during site visits.

As with the field trips to Plitvice Lakes, the Lovas field trips were scheduled to coincide with significant events, including an October 2017 visit during a memorial programme entitled 'Day of Remembrance of the Victims of Serbian Aggression over the Locals of Lovas Municipality' (*Dana sjećanja na žrtve srpske agresije nad mještanima Općine Lovas*). This event was organised locally to commemorate the twenty years of honouring the victims of the violent event. On this commemorative anniversary, the recently produced documentary film about wartime events in Lovas was screened in the village for the first time and in my capacity as a postgraduate researcher, I was invited to attend. Additional interviews were conducted before and after the screening of the film in the municipal hall.

Archival research was conducted at the Croatian National Archives (HDA), The Croatian Memorial Documentation Center of the Homeland War (HMDCDR) and the National and University Library in Zagreb (NUL).

[22] I use the term 'interlocutants' after its employment and explanation by the anthropologist Safet HadiziMuhamedović (2018, xiiin4) in his work on proximity and encounter in a Bosnian Landscape, *Waiting for Elijah*. It is similarly appropriate in the context in which I write to explain that 'interlocutor' refers to more than just human beings, but rather like Latour's (2005) use of 'actant' instead of 'actor' to problematize 'the human self-entitlement to agency,' my use of 'interlocutants' includes humans and nonhumans as mutually responsive and not exclusive of one another.

[23] On June 20, 2019, the specialised War Crimes Chamber of the Belgrade District sentenced eight of the ten remaining indicted former Yugoslav Army soldiers and Paramilitaries to serve between four and eight years for committing war crimes against civilians in Lovas in October and November 1991. This is an initial ruling and the defendants have the right to appeal. More detailed analysis is found in Chapter 4.

0.3 Dissertation Structure

Chapter One offers an introductory analysis of the scholarly work that intersects with the core themes of this dissertation, namely, landscape, conflict, and memory. It points to an understudied area of hinterland memory practices in landscapes of the former Yugoslavia and sets out a conceptual framework by which to address the research questions. Chapter Two, 'Memorialising and Commemorating Conflict in Croatia,' analyses official instrumentalizations of the past in the former Yugoslavia and the impact of the legacy of prominent World War Two monuments and commemorations on successive states.[24] The commemorative activities of the Socialist state and the Catholic Church are discussed, with particular reference to the encoding power of place as well as the narratives of 'victim/hero/martyr' and 'aggressor/defender' and their links to natural landscapes and places of memory. This chapter explores memorial practices and places of memory specifically connected to the 1990s war and the preceding and subsequent post-conflict decades in order to draw attention to the importance of the symbolic and material nature of their landscape contexts. The study of the mnemonic work in which these sites are implicated, and their related performative discourses, practices, and material manifestations will draw out wider implications for how memory processes relationships and phenomena particular to the violent and traumatic past of Croatia, and how this is mediated in and through landscapes.

The case studies of Chapter Three, 'Plitvice Lakes National Park' and Chapter Four, 'The Village of Lovas' argue that although there are considerable differences between the two landscapes and their memorial contexts, they both function as distinct social frameworks for memory in post-war Croatia. I argue that these landscapes and their containment of memorials play multiple roles in the formation of cultural memories of conflict, and that these roles are linked to their political discursive status, their material and affective qualities, and their temporal condition. Both case studies conclude with an argument for an expanded notion of landscape and its material traces (built traces as well as 'natural features') as something complex, something possessing the integral features of memorial dynamics. My research suggests that recent debates concerned with phenomenology and affect can provide alternative ways to recast notions of relations between landscape and traumatic memory. It also suggests that landscape can be further theorised to consider its active and productive capacities, revising its role simply

[24] In the immediate aftermath of an event, the representation and reproduction of memories are mainly controlled by the survivors, the victims and their families, often in the form of spontaneous shrines. In some cases, memorials were erected as spontaneous reactions of liberated people, for example in the aftermath of the Second World War a wooden obelisk was erected upon the liberation of Buchenwald in 1945 (Tanović 2019). In 1995 Horst Hoheisel's 'Warm Memorial,' consisting of a concrete plate set on the ground and warmed to human body temperature was placed on the spot where the temporary obelisk once stood in Buchenwald. Over time other parties enter the discussion and the resultant debates, and potential for the circulation of competing interpretations is what Young (1997) calls 'memory work' and what Foote (2003, 342) argues is perhaps more important than a physical monument.

as a static scenic backdrop in which memory takes place, a naturalist view, or as a reflection of a coherent symbolic order existing within a cultural construction, a culturalist view (Ingold 1993, 152).

Chapter Three in particular explores the biographic/topographic relations of the Josip Jović memorial in the landscape of the Plitvice Lakes National Park [Figure 0.3 – Figure 0.5]. It argues that the long history of the lakes as mythic landscape and territorial prize was instrumentalized in the Croatian political discourse immediately preceding the 1990s war and that this persists, in modified form, in contemporary memory politics. The spatial practices surrounding the Josip Jović memorial, however, reveal that the representation of the landscape oscillates, and that the narrative that the memorial symbolises is both dependent upon and in contest with the landscape. The chapter also examines local visual and discursive practices associated with commemorative events in order to reveal discreet connections to the landscape that reflect private memorial actions as well as public concerns for a material landscape under threat from pressing environmental issues. By investigating the rhetorical practises –textual, material and visual –that surround and produce the Plitvice Lakes as 'National Park,' the case study demonstrates ways in which the landscape has been invoked to naturalise cultural and historical narratives. In turn, the landscape is shown to mediate the experiences of visitors in ways that may affirm or disrupt narratives of conflict.

Chapter Four examines the role of landscape in the local experiences of traumatic events in a rural hinterland of the Croatian-Serbian border. It investigates how landscape sets conditions and affords particular opportunities for local memory practices in response to traumatic events that took place in a former clover field at the edge of the village of Lovas, Croatia [Figure 0.6 – Figure 0.8]. Like urban environments, rural areas may be physically scarred by conflict, yet the effects are often less explicit, particularly to the external gaze. Like cities, rural landscapes may be 'wounded' and remain unsettled as sites of trauma. Often ordinary people and local communities are subject to state-led memorialisation practices that tend to perpetuate conflict. However, under particular circumstances, local actors may also understand and make use of the distinct potential of landscape to enact memory work that more closely corresponds with their needs.

0.3 Plitvice Lakes National Park and Josip Jović Memorial: Plitvice Lakes, Croatia, 26 August 2017.

0.4 Waterfall at the Plitvice Lakes National Park: 30 March 2017.

0.5 Police Officers gathering at the Josip Jović Memorial on the anniversary of his death: 31 March 2017.

0.6 Lovas memorial field fallow and ploughed in preparation for anniversary service: Lovas, Croatia, 17 October 2017.

0.7 Lovas memorial Field cypress trees: Lovas, Croatia, 17 October 2017. Photo: J Fyfe

0.8 Lovas Memorial Field on the anniversary of the minefield event: 18 October 2017.

Chapter 1
Croatian Landscapes as Sites of Conflict and Memory: Critical Scholarship and Theoretical Approaches

Many acts of remembering are site-specific, but not all in the same way.

Paul Connerton, *How Modernity Forgets*.[1]

[1] (Connerton 2009, 7).

1.1 Introduction

Memory and landscape have been the subjects of sustained enquiry in social science and humanities research, as have, increasingly, the connections between them (Schama 1995; Lowenthal 1985; Wylie 2007; De Nardi 2017).[2] Related to the scholarly and popular phenomenon of the 'memory boom' of the later twentieth century (Huyssen 2000, 31; Klein 2000; Winter 2006; Erll 2011) the recent proliferation of scholarly work on the place of memory in social life, identity formation and political culture has been linked to struggles over the past and the imagining of alternative futures across the world.[3] The focus of reflection has been, very reasonably, on the traumas and historical events of modern history with colonialism, nationalism, and wars of independence receiving the greatest attention.[4] While these research themes still remain dominant, a rich seam of interdisciplinary and transnational research of 'smaller scale' dynamics (Jones and Garde-Hansen 2016, 3) has more recently produced comparative accounts of intimate, everyday relationships among individuals, or small collectives and the diverse material and spatial expressions of violent pasts. This thesis belongs among these accounts.

As the scale of memory landscapes under investigation has partially shifted to focus on what Andreas Huyssen (2003, 95) has called 'memory sites in an expanded field' so too have the theoretical frameworks to interpret them. Over the past three decades the ways in which we look at both memory and landscape have evolved dramatically. The depth of the historical interest in both concepts, the sheer variety and highly charged character of the work on memory in contemporary culture, the conceptual and theoretical evolutions that memory, place and landscape have all undergone, has led to a proliferation of transdisciplinary sources to navigate.[5] Modes of thinking about memory representations in the landscape have evolved from representational approaches to memory, or ways of 'reading' material objects like

[2] There also exists a vast literature dedicated to the complex neurological and psychological processes of consciousness (language, thought, action) and unconsciousness (emotions, affect and memory). This important literature on the cognitive sciences, however, remains outside the remit of this thesis. See Viejo-Rose (2015) for a discussion on how recent developments in cognitive psychology and related neuroscience, and evolutionary sciences might inform research at the intersections of cultural heritage and memory studies.

[3] Cultural theorist Astrid Erll (2011, 4-5) and historian Jay Winter (2016, 55) have argued that other generations have had a similar fascination or indeed obsession with memory. According to Erll what seems qualitatively new for current memory discourses and practises is not the frequency and depth of cultural remembering compared with other historical periods, but the fact that memory discourses and practices are increasingly linked across the world. For Winter, what modern commentators offer is less a set of new ideas about memory than new configurations of old ones.

[4] A small sample of this extensive theoretical and empirical work in the last two decades includes: Connerton, 2009; Dwyer and Alderman 2008; Foote, 2003; 2007; Forest, Johnson and Till 2004; Hebbert 2005; Hoelscher and Alderman 2004; Legg 2005; 2007; Navaro-Yashin 2012; Rose-Redwood 2008; Stig Sorenson and Viejo-Rose 2015; Viejo-Rose 2015; Till 2003; 2005; 2006; Winter 2008; Winter and Sivan 1999; Wylie 2007.

[5] Scholars have engaged with memory in a range of spatial registers, including places of memorialisation and commemoration (Sidaway 2007, 2009; Mitchell 2002; Lebow 2006; Legg, 2005; Stig-Sorensen and Viejo-Rose 2015; Till, 2003; 2005; Young 1994; 1999); burial sites and death-scapes (Bednar 2013; Barker 2018; Foote 2003; Maddrell and Sidaway 2010); historical landscapes (Della Dora, 2008; DeLyser 1999; 2003); and sacred and pilgrim landscapes (Schramm 2011; Anderson et al. 2010). This dissertation complements these studies and draws attention to other sites of conflict trauma by exploring multiple modes of thinking and reading cultural remembrances and landscapes.

memorials, monuments and museums; to the politics of memory representations and appropriations; to the more recent suite of 'more-than-representational' theories that explore non-material memory 'traces' through affect, embodiment and encounter.[6] Each of these 'modes' for thinking about the dynamic relationship of/in/between landscape and memory has proven useful for the purpose of this dissertation.

This chapter theorizes the dynamic relationship between landscape and memory by focusing on three areas. First, in a discussion of the enduring metaphor of the palimpsest it explores the connections between collective remembrance and symbolic place via the theory of 'cultural memory' developed by Jan and Aleida Assmann in the 1990s (1995; 1997; 1999) and more recently developed by Astrid Erll (2011; Erll and Nünning 2008) and Ann Rigney (2007; 2008a). This will lead to the second area, focused on questions regarding the role of landscapes as both material and discursive mediator of cultural values and to the set of theories concerned with landscape and the politics of memory.[7] Marginal and border landscapes are discussed as a subtheme of the politics of memory and presented as opportunities for studying the particular creative tensions involved in their construction as memory landscapes. A third section offers the existing lexicon a (re)definition of the term 'unsettled landscape' by drawing on recent literatures that value the intangible nature of remembrance, and the embodiments and affects that inhabit memorial landscapes of marginality marked by violence and contestation.[8] The concluding discussion provides a brief synthesis of the theoretical contributions of memory studies and landscape research for the empirical chapters in the dissertation.

1.2 Remembering Things in Landscapes

A palimpsest is generally understood as a manuscript on which two or more successive texts have been written, one being effaced to make way for the other, yet not completely: traces remain that can still be read. The same term is often applied to landscape, where multiple layers co-exist and the language of inscription, reading, and narration is also implied. The notion of the palimpsest, as Hunt argues (2016,

[6] I use the term memory 'trace' in reference to Koshar's (2000) use of the term in his comparative analysis of the paradigms of memory landscapes in Germany from national unification in 1870 to reunification in 1990. The 'trace' is one of Koshar's four paradigms that he argues shape the 'memory landscapes' (*Erinnerungslandschaft*) across Germany's history, the others being: the national monument, the ruin and the reconstruction.

[7] Although discussed in detail below the dissertation adheres to the general definition of the politics of memory as defined by Barahone de Brito et al. as two things: 'Narrowly conceived, it consists of policies of truth and justice in transition (*official or public memory*); more widely conceived, it is about how a society interprets and appropriates its past, in an ongoing attempt to mould its future (*social memory*)' (Barahone de Brito et. Al., 2001, 37). See also: (Banjeglav 2012; Boyarin 1994; and Bell 2006). For 'politics of landscape' also see discussions on environmental justice and landscape agency e.g. (Jones 2006; Mels 2003, 2016; Mels and Mitchell 2013; Mitchell 2003a, 2003b; Olwig 1996; Olwig and Mitchell 2008; Walker 2012; Wall and Waterman 2018; Wylie 2007). See also: (Berliner 2005; Rose- Palmberger, 2010; Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu 2008).

[8] For recent cultural and theoretical work on (non)more-than-representational thinking and landscape see: (Anderson 2006; Merriman *et al*. 2008; Lorimer 2008; McComack 2010; Thrift 2000; 2004; Whatmore 2006; Wylie 2005; Waterton and Watson 2018).

247), is fundamental to landscape as history; for history is layered, requiring 'somebody to tell the story', and the narration of past events is history.[9] As a metaphor the palimpsest seems entirely appropriate for the exploration of memorial landscapes. It implies multiple authorship and multi-vocality, the presence, absence, and concealment of signs, traces, and material remains that are destroyed or preserved, forgotten or remembered, and the production of partial or incomplete accounts of what was once but is there no longer. Indeed, Jay Winter argues the palimpsest is 'entirely suitable for the exploration of collective remembrance' in (contested) memory sites as it supports the notion of memory as 'unstable, plastic, synthetic, and repeatedly reshaped' (2009, 171). We are not better served, he argues, by more mechanical and misleading metaphors that describe our memories as libraries, or archives, or 'hard disks, and the like' (Ibid.). Winter's pronouncement is perhaps cautionary. From classical mnemotechnies, to De Quincey's palimpsest, to Proust's madeleine and Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas, to Freud's magic pad, to Pierre Nora's *Lieux de mémoire* the theories based on the imprint of memory onto material carriers as a model for memory are losing purchase in the age of digital media. The view of memory as 'trace and storage' (Assmann 2011, 146) has been supplanted by memory as a substance that is 'being reshaped under the changing pressures and perspectives of the present (Ibid.).'[10]

How then is the palimpsest still a useful metaphor for the historical narratives inscribed in places? More broadly, how do places become palimpsestic, or rather, how do places become sources and media of memory? To approach these questions, I turn to the work of Aleida and Jan Assmann and their theory of 'cultural memory' (*das kulturelle* G*edächtnis*) to clarify how memory interacts with places from the points of view both of individuals and collectives, and how history 'takes place' and 'takes hold' in memory through symbols and media (Assmann 1996a; 2009, 152).

The Assmann's starting point is to make a distinction between two registers of Maurice Halbwach's collective memory (1994): a collective memory that is based on forms of everyday interaction and communication, which they call 'communicative memory,' and a collective memory that is more institutionalised and rests on rituals and media, which they call 'cultural memory' (Erll 2011, 28). In the Assmann's formulation (1992, 56) there are qualitative differences between the two 'memory frameworks' or as Jan Assmann explains (1992, 51), 'at stake here are two modes of remembering, two functions of memory and the past – "uses of the past"—which one must first carefully distinguish, even if they permeate one another in manifold ways in the reality of a historical culture.' 'Communicative

[9] Hunt (2014, Chapter 1) further explores the notion of the palimpsest and its importance for his theory of landscape as history.
[10] See the seminal work of Frances Yates (1966, xi) on ancient mnemotechnics the *ars memorativa*; 'a technique of imprinting "places" and "images" on memory' and Mary Carruthers (2014, 34) influential work on medieval memory techniques. These were places to be mentally revisited to access the stories once created, whose narrations are revised and whose meanings are transformed over time (Hutton 2016, 31). See also Assmann's discussion (2011, 146-147) of spatial metaphors of memory.

memory' comes into being through everyday interaction, consists of the historical experiences of contemporaries and is limited to 'the temporal dimension of everyday life' (1992, 56), a horizon of eighty to one hundred years. In contrast, 'cultural memory' is memory that is tied to 'material objectivations.' It is purposefully established and ceremonialized and within this framework takes place in what Jan Assmann calls the 'temporal dimension of the festival,' and at its core are mythical events of a distant past which are interpreted as foundational to the community (Erll 2011, 28).

The theory shows that the contents, forms, media, temporal structure and carriers of the two memory frameworks are fundamentally different from one another. This subdivision of cultural remembrance allows for important differentiations:[11]

> between the reference to events of one's own epoch and the reference to more distant epochs; between modifiable, negotiable everyday memory and meaning-laden traditions; between oral forms of remembrance and a memory which relies on other, more elaborate media technologies; and thus…between the relative fluidity and fixity, the more liquid and the more stable forms of cultural memory (Erll 2011, 30).

The adjective 'cultural' in this theoretical context does not refer to a broad understanding of culture, but rather a subset of manifestations of 'memory in culture,' the area which Aleida Assmann (1991) calls 'culture as monument,' the societal construction of normative and formative versions of the past (Erll 2011, 30). Cultural memory, then, is specifically concerned with 'the role of narrative in shaping the understanding of the past, the role of media in transmitting and distributing those narratives and the power of stories to mobilize, affect and loyalty' (Rigney 2018). The central criterion that differentiates the 'cultural' from the 'communicative' mode of remembering is the collective idea of the meaning of the past events chosen by the community and their media usage (Erll 2011, 33). In other words, memorability is not a feature of events themselves but depends on people's ability to articulate their experiences and convert them into a transferable form: language, images, monuments and performances are the props used in transferring and disseminating narratives about the past (Rigney 2018, 243).[12] What is key to these memory dynamics is mediation. 'Memory *becomes* collective when it is shared,' explains Ann Rigney,

[11] Erll (2011, 30) notes that the bisection of Halbwachs's collective memory has been theorised productively elsewhere as *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* (Pierre Nora), as 'vernacular' and 'official' memory (John Bednar) and as 'lived' and 'distant' memory (William Hirst and David Manier). What is useful for my purposes is that the Assmann's theory and lexicon clarifies sites of memory as both media and *topoi* of cultural memory.

[12] For comparative and interdisciplinary approaches to memory cultures transferability in a global age see the concepts of 'cosmopolitan memory' (Levy and Sznaider 2002) that refers to a distinctive kind of collective memory whereby global issues and local concerns intertwine, and the concept of a modern mass media produced 'prosthetic memory' (Landsberg 2004) capable of taking part in political and ethical goals. For globalizing and localising aspects of memory see also Rothberg's (2009) concept of 'Multidirectional memory.' Also, both Erll (2011) and Schramm (2011) emphasise the dynamics of memory that 'travels.'

'and for it to be shared it must be mediated' (2018, 243 italics original) and what is meant by mediation is both the channels of transmission and the cultural forms that are used to make sense of events.[13] This both begs and returns us to the questions posed at the outset: sites of memory are both narrative and *topoi* of cultural memory.

Memories are of course not only stored in symbols and objects, but also in places: commemorative sites, public squares, cities, and landscapes. Aleida Assmann (2009, 158) distinguishes *lieux de souvenir*, those places that are private and subjective and prone to triggering sudden, almost physical reminisces, and the collective and cultural *lieux de mémoire* made famous by Pierre Nora. For Assmann (2009, 151) the reactivation of the concept of *topoi*, or lieux, as durable props for the 'notoriously unstable memorizing capacities' is an innovation of Nora's conceptual framework and offers a useful shift from the concept of narrative in the forging of collective identity to the role of place in understanding the 'highly elusive texture of national memory.' Published from 1984 to 1992, the large collective work directed by Pierre Nora set out to explore the repertoire of reference points that emerge at the intersection of history and memory to create a sense of a shared national past in France. The concept at the centre of the project, Nora's *lieu de mémoire*, has been behind the most prominent and most frequently practised approach to cultural remembrance; it is also a concept frequently lost in translation (Viejo-Rose 2015, 4; Erll 2011, 27). *Lieux de mémoire* are the intangible, symbolic, and cognitive reference points that serve to bind a group together, and more specifically, a nation. Nora explains (1989, 19) that sites of memory can be distinguished by three dimensions: material, functional, and symbolic. This criterion is meant to provide a clear definition and prevent a 'drift into admitting virtually everything as worthy of remembrance' (Ibid.). Many critics, however, do question this criterion, as over time and across the hundred and thirty 'sites' identified by Nora, ways of thinking, phrases, and even social manners have all been promoted to the status of *lieu de mémoire* (Erll, 2011, 27) a development these critics see as diluting the criterion and calling into question its efficacy as a model of memory. Arguably, the greatest issue with Nora's approach is its 'nation-centeredness,' which has drawn criticism for its nationalism (and patriotism) from scholars who are concerned with shifting the focus from consensus to conflict with postcolonial, transcultural, and transnational perspectives (Assmann 2009, 152).[14] The significance of collectively shared memories for the construction of the nation makes an essential contribution to group cohesion by allowing personal

[13] Rigney's use of 'collective' is based on Jeffrey Olick's (1999) distinction between 'collected memory' (individual memory as affected by cultural context) and collective memory (memory that is shared and held in common by a group) (2018, n.1).

[14] See the edited volume by Indira Sengupta (2009) for a critical treatment of Pierre Nora's work in post-colonial contexts. The empirically diverse collection of essays in Hodgkin and Radstone (2009) also engage colonialism and memory to rethink the politics of the postcolonial present. On the subject of colonial space more broadly see (Harvey 1989, 176) in which he writes: 'the conquest of space first required that it be conceived of as something usable, malleable, and therefore capable of domination through human action.'

memory to be emotionally linked with the supra-individual memory of the community (Schulze 2009); however, it simply represents one specific form of 'cultural memory' (Assmann 1999).[15]

A significant attempt to rethink the conception of the *lieu de mémoire* is found in Ann Rigney's work on the emergence and 'life' of memory sites.[16] Although it has proven useful as a conceptual tool, the metaphor of 'memory site' can become misleading if it is interpreted to mean that collective remembrance becomes permanently tied down to particular figures, icons, or monuments. She emphasizes (2008a, 346) that the performative aspect of the term 'remembrance' suggests that collective memory is constantly '"in the works" …to bring remembrance to a conclusion is de facto already to forget.' For Assmann, Rigney and Erll understanding the *lieu de mémoire* as a fundamentally mnemonic *process* is to study its dynamics, not as a stable entity but as constantly being 'reinvested with new meaning' (Rigney 2005, 18). In emphasizing the hybrid character of *lieux de mémoire* the site is (re)conceptualized as palimpsest, replete with layers of cultural memory and meaning, something that is reused or altered while still retaining traces of earlier forms. The palimpsest 'enables us to see better how we layer meaning on top of meaning to make sense of the world' (Winter 2009, 168).

Landscape and memory are shifting phenomena, and the effect of parallax, for one thing, is such that the material and symbolic elements of both are dependent on changeable views. Narrative entanglements and a complexity of meanings and situated remembrances are always present. However, the mnemonic qualities of place persist in the embodiment and narratives of those places, and they prevail despite being superimposed, forgotten, neglected, and silenced. Acts of effacement and covering up are also palimpsestic activities which can be uncovered. As palimpsests, historic sites of traumatic memory differ considerably from monuments, memorials, and museums in that in spite of their sparse material relics they are more than just symbols: they are also themselves (Assmann 2012, 148). As Assmann clarifies, 'While cultural symbols may be built up and pulled down, these places can never be totally appropriated or made to disappear completely in a new geopolitical order' (Ibid.). They are marked and incorporated into new commemorative practices and into the social consciousness as a response to their mnemonic dynamism, a dynamism that is in part due to materiality.

In multiple publications Aleida Assmann (2009, 159; 2011, 281; 2016, 186) has used a claim attributed to Cicero to reflect on the prime importance of place for the construction of cultural memory: 'Great is the

[15] For criticism of 'container-culture' approach in memory studies and the notion of 'single memory cultures' see (Erll, 2011, 8): 'There is the great internal heterogeneity of cultural remembering within the nation-state. Different social classes, generations, ethnicities, religious communities, and subcultures all generate their own, but in many ways intersecting, frameworks of memory.' For the growing interest in transcultural memory see: (Törnquist-Plewa, Sindbæk Andersen and Erll 2017); (Erll 2011); (Radstone 2011).
[16] See also Erll (2011, 26) for a review of Rigney's contribution to reconfiguring the *lieux de mémoire* approach.

power of memory that resides in places.'[17] She contends that although places themselves have no innate faculty of memory they stabilize and authenticate cultural memory by providing it a concrete setting, and because place may outlast the 'relatively short life spans of individuals, eras, and even cultures and their artifacts,' it may also embody continuity (2011, 282). Drawing on Assmann and others this dissertation similarly argues that place is central to the way in which individuals remember and groups commemorate. It seeks also to point to the distinct capacities of 'landscape as a concretization and maker of memory' (Mitchell 2003, 790) to unsettle and subvert the cultural memory inscriptions by local and official agents.

1.3 A Politics of Remembering and Forgetting in Croatia

Contested and Contingent (Re)Constitutions of the Past

The narrative reconstruction of past events through public and personal acts of commemoration and identification is a selective social, political, and geographic process. What is made visible (or rendered invisible) in the landscape then is a result of commemorative decisions and actions in circumstances that are themselves historically, intellectually, and politically charged. Political theorist Jenny Edkins's distinction between memories and acts of remembering is instructive here: if memories are the record of everything we experience, then acts of remembering are social experiences that are intensely political (Edkins 2003, 54). This makes control over commemoration central to struggles over power and over who gets to decide the future (Bell, 2006; Williams 2007; Zehfuss 2006). Of particular interest to this dissertation are the modes by which the state, and various publics within the state, may use their (structural) power to select and discard collective memories for the commemoration of traumatic events in order to legitimise their authority and/or dispute the authority of others (Edkins, 2003, Caruth 1996; Bar-On 1999; Wood 1999). Memorials and monuments are not simply a 'material backdrop' (Johnson 1995) from which a national story is told: rather, these public representations of memory are an integral part of a nation's story of remembering, commemoration and identity formation. However, although the memorial practices and productions addressed in this dissertation feature state and political elites as key drivers of memory politics following periods of war and violence, the recognition of memorialisation as a social process requires an expanded understanding of the subjects involved in its construction and maintenance, since focusing only on the state runs the risk of ignoring the complexity of publics involved as well as the memory manipulation of other social institutions and non-state actors (Edkins 2003). [18]This dissertation advocates for a corrective in the tendency of the literature to focus on official narratives, and will feature heterogeneous narratives of ordinary individuals and spontaneous, local and 'counter' memorials and

[17] '*Magna vis admonitionis inest in locis*' Cicero, *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, with the English translation by H. Rackham, London and Cambridge, reprint 2nd Edition 1961, pp: 392f. As quoted in Assmann (2011, 282).
[18] (Cf. Boyer 1994; Crang and Travlou 2001; Huyssen 2003; Jordan 2006; Rokem and Boano 2018). Also: (Bell 1999; Foote, Tóth, and Ávary 2000; Forrest and Johnson 2002; James 2005; Till 1999; 2005, Verdery 1999).

commemorations.[19] Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper argue that the politics of memory and war commemoration are to be found in 'the struggle of different groups to give public articulation to, and hence gain recognition for, certain memories and the narratives within which they are structured' (Ashplant et al. 2000, 16). The study of the history of war memory and commemoration involves the tracing of 'the outcomes of particular struggles, as represented by both those memories which are publicly articulated, and by those which have been privatized, fragmented or repressed' (Ibid). These struggles also, importantly, include marginal or informal actors who have access to or occupy various spatial settings, including the differently controlled hinterland zones.

Memorial practices and memory places constructed (or adopted) by alternative 'memory makers' (Kansteiner 2000), do not by virtue of their opposition to power elites afford their views more accuracy or indeed make them more able to interrupt the dominant interpretation of the past. Counter memory or 'sectional memory' still maintains a position relative to the dominant discourse: 'the official national narrative promoted by the state agencies operates so as to "frame" war memories articulated from below, in forms which serve the interests of that nation-state' (Ashplant et al. 2000, 53).[20] Although 'sectional memories' may undermine the dominant or mythical narrative of the state (in this case regarding war memory), it has been argued, and will be argued in the following chapters, that they may also have adverse consequences for social reconciliation, damaging bilateral relations and transitional justice efforts more generally (Banjeglav 2012; McDowell and Braniff 2014). It is one of the aims of this dissertation to explore the relationships that place, and landscape in particular, plays in these narrative contests between memory agents. This involves engagement with more recent scholarly discussions regarding the political representation of landscape and its agency (Wall and Waterman 2018; Olwig and Mitchell 2009).

The persistent geo-political tensions surrounding the annual Bleiburg commemorations are an example of contested remembrance that continue to mark the memory politics across international borders. Since Croatia's independence in 1991 regular commemorations have been held to mark the 1945 massacre of anti-Partisan prisoners of war (Slovene home guards and Fascist Ustaša as well as Serb and Muslim

[19] Scholars have advocated for an expanded set of memory actors to be studied citing the importance of non-elites, veterans or artists and their spatial practices. A good example of this work in the Balkan context is Karge (2009) although she defines the local commemorative war remembrance practices in relation to the state led spatial practices. There are more detailed studies of artists commemorative interventions rather than the practices of ordinary people, and these also mainly frame artists' works in relation to official war narratives. See Horvantičić (2015) and Widrich (2009) for artistic commemorative interventions in the former Yugoslavia and post Yugoslav context. There is a growing richness in arts and humanities disciplines which draw attention to 'smaller scale' dynamics of individual, family and other small collectives' relationship to aspects of space, landscape and place within memories as such (for an example see: Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012), however these actors and their spatial/memory practices remain under-represented compared to the scholarly reflections on collective, public and social memories of the traumas of modern history.

[20] 'Sectional Memory' is defined by Ashplant, Dawson and Roper as 'those memories which, though they have achieved the level of open public articulation, have not yet secured recognition within the existing framework of official memory' (Ashplant et al.; 2000, 20 see also Banjeglav 2012, 23).

Četniks) at Bleiburg in Allied-controlled Austria.[21] Mention of the event was rendered taboo under Communist rule only to resurface in the media and political discourse leading up to the war in the 1990s. The absence of any serious research of this crime and the official silence that covered it during the communist period, Subotić (2018, 306) argues, resulted in the narrative of the massacred Ustasha POWs at Bleiburg being replaced with the larger narrative of ethnic Croatian suffering. After 1980, the public memory of Bleiburg and other sites was repurposed by the new political elites to construct narratives of the nation's past that sought to reconcile the entire national body of the Croatian people through the shared vision of an independent state (Banjegelav 2012, 9). This would reverse the officially produced Yugoslavian war narratives loyal to the Socialist rather than ethnic subject. Intent on 'national reconciliation,' Franjo Tudjman, the leader of the Croatian Democratic Community (*Hrvatska demokratska zajednica* or HDZ) after the first multiparty elections in 1990, chose similar social, political and legal projects to selectively remember and selectively forget at the time of Yugoslavia's dissolution. The government-sponsored annual commemorations continue to cause conflict between the Croatian and the Austrian governments as the latter is keen to disassociate itself from fascism. As a response a political and civil society coalition has formed in Austria in an attempt to ban the Bleiburg commemoration (Milekić 2017a; Subotić 2018). One of the aims of this dissertation is to explore the relationships that place, and landscape in particular, plays in narrative contests such as these between shifting official articulations of memory.

Much of the focus on collective memory in the former Yugoslavia is concerned with the powers that find a use for it, and likewise, the subject of political instrumentalization dominates scholarship on historical nationalism and memory in Croatia and the other successor states.[22] Monika Palmberger, in her study of intergenerational memory in Mostar, Bosnia argues that social scientists have mainly been disposed to treat the former Yugoslavia as a 'laboratory' for studying memory politics due to its history of successive political regimes, and the focus of analysis has been the continuing efforts to rewrite the histories of local and regional ethno-national groups (Palmberger 2016, 15; Todorova 2009; Verdery 1999; Bašić-Hravtin

[21] For expanded discussions on the persistent politicisation of the Bleiburg commemorations see (Pavlowitch 1992; Lampe 2000 [1996]; Banjeglav 2012). See: (Pavlaković and Pauković 2019) for multi-year research of the Bleiburg commemorations that analyzes changes to political and media rhetoric of the event.

[22] For summaries of the contrasting theories of the break-up of Yugoslavia see: (Dragović-Soso 2007); (Jović 2009b); (Ramet 2002; 2005b). To clarify the complex and diverse explanations of the causes of war found in the academic research Hayball (2015, 15-16) divides the existing literature into three categories: 'orthodox'; 'multi-factor' and 'revisionist.' The first group contends that Milošević aroused Serb nationalism, activated a violent plan for a Greater Serbia and invaded (and committed genocide in) Croatia and then Bosnia. Authors in this camp include Sabrina Ramet, James Gow, Marcus Tanner and Viktor Meier. 'Multi-factor' theorists such as Susan Woodward, Dejan Jović, Leonard Cohen, Robert Hayden and Aleksander Pavković argue that Milošević and Serbia played a destructive role, but argue that there are other factors which require more nuanced explanations. The final (minority) group, including Kate Hudson and Nora Belhoff, argues that the roles played by other actors such as foreign states (e.g. Germany and the United States) will mean that the 'orthodox' view needs to be reconsidered. There is much polarisation in scholarly accounts of the conflict and as 'everything depends on who is talking' (Bjelajac and Žunec 2006 as cited in Hayball 2015, 20) even the 'rather unimportant details' (Ramet, 2005, 5) are contested.

1996; Denich, 1994; Hayden, 1994). Much of this research has explored how the new elites, after critical political change, have rewritten the past and reconstructed places of memory in order to legitimise their own rule, making the past and its commemoration correspond to their nationally oriented goals (Palmberger 2016, 15 see also: Ballinger 2003; Basic-Hravtin 1996; Bet-El 2002; Denich 1994; Hayden 1994; Moll 2013; Schäuble 2014; Verdery 1999). Research has also examined how cultural heritage sites are used and/or misused by ethno-nationalist political elites in existing ethnic conflicts and in processes and patterns of reconstruction following armed conflict and international intervention.[23] Particular focus has been reserved for analyses of post-war reconstruction of 'heritagescapes' that become battlegrounds for competing historical narratives (Baillie 2012; Badescu 2017; Stig Sørensen and Viejo Rose 2015).

The selection of terms for this phenomenon of narrative control becomes a critical project on its own.[24] The term 'dominant public discourse,' used by Palmberger, rather than 'collective memory' is useful as it specifically refers to the public/official narrative used by those 'professionally' involved in creating national history, as distinct from those who are not, and who may alternatively be engaged in 'vernacular/popular' history (Palmberger 2010, 7). This draws attention to two conditions: first, it reminds us that discussion is historically embedded and is thereby dynamic and social, and should not be considered 'collective,' as this term may promote the idea of a homogenising or totalising collective consciousness (Olick and Robbins 1989; Fentress and Wickham 1992; Bell 2003). Second, these dominant discourses are related to the temporality of the political phenomenon that generated it, again reminding us of the dynamic aspects of national identity, or governing myth formation which impact public remembrance and its geography. For the purposes of the dissertation these two key elements – multiple memory agents yielding fragmented collective identities and therefore a fragmented identity– forming past, and the dynamic relationships between memory and the political and material context –are critical.

This dynamism may be physically expressed in the addition, disappearance, erosion, or vandalism of commemorative features, as monuments of social and political significance are reformulated according to shifts in priorities. Foote and Azaryahu (2007, 7) have claimed that this phenomenon is near universal, as almost all memorial spaces and activities change over time, susceptible as they are 'to different and possibly contradictory interpretations.' As others have suggested, a significant function of memorials is to engage multiple and successive generations in debate over their significance; the profusion of meanings ascribed to memorials and commemorations is constantly modulated with spatial implications (Atkinson

[23] See the work of the Cultural Heritage and the Re-construction of Identities after Conflict (CRIC) at the University of Cambridge. See also 'Bosnia: 'Reinvention of the Past' and the 'reconstruction of the future' a joint research project conducted by project partners at Umeå University.
[24] A sample of recent theoretical examinations of collective memory include: (Olick 2007); (Misztal 2003); (Erll and Nünning 2008); (Olick and Vinitzky-Seroussi 2011).

and Cosgrove 1998; Rothberg 2009; Young 2009; Winter 1995). These cultural memory contests are opportunities for material sites to (re)gain attention and for memory agents to (re)assert their symbolic and narrative control.

Scholars in memory studies have warned of the 'terminological profusion' and 'semantic overload' of the notion of 'collective' memory (Kansteiner 2002; Klein 2000) as well as the parallel diffusion of overly broad definitions of political memory (Verovšek 2016). Duncan Bell (2003) has proposed ways to avoid these problematic terms, with reference in particular to their relationship to nationalism. Bell (2000, 66) proposes that modes of nationalist 'story-telling' may be theorised as either myth or memory, with the dominant narrative being subject to investigation as the 'governing mythology.'[25] The notion of storytelling and myth in relation to memory is further clarified in the 'social agency' approach as outlined by Winter and Sivan (1999a; 1999b). They make an important distinction between memory, that is the socially-framed property of individual minds, and collective memory, or rather collective remembrance, the product of individuals or groups of individuals who come together to share memories of particular events. As such, Bell (2003, 65) reminds us, memory can 'only be externalised through multiple acts of remembrance,' through social interaction and thus, collective memory is an 'experientially formatted inter-subjective phenomenon.' Given that collective remembrance is the product of interwoven individual memories, its character is inherently fluid. Following this any shared understanding(s), conceptualisation(s) or representation(s) of past events (important for the forging of a group identity), are socially constructed and circulated, or 'mythical,' rather than mnemonic (Ibid.). Remembrance, then is the active principle whereby myths are not just reproduced but also slowly reconfigured, as Ann Rigney clarifies (2018, 242):

> The distinction between myth and memory often correlates to a difference in temporal scale (with myths being deeply rooted in time and memory relating to the more recent past), but the crucial distinction here lies in the issue of malleability.

Bell's (2003, 66) development of the concept of a 'mythscape' makes his work more useful still for the purposes of this dissertation. He defines mythscape as 'the temporally and spatially extended discursive realm wherein the struggle for control of peoples' memories and the formation of nationalist myths is debated, contested and subverts incessantly.' Bell (2003, 66) instils in the term 'mythscape' a spatial quality for dominant, subaltern, and conflicting nationalist narratives. This use of the suffix 'scape' opens up possibilities beyond the usual textual and discursive understandings of landscape to suggest that aspects of its representation, perception, and experience serve as a framework for memory interpretation,

[25] Gedi and Elam (1996) had previously contended that the idea of 'myth' is a more appropriate term for shared communal stories and that the paradigms of 'collective memory' and 'political memory' lack definition. See also Verovšek (2016) for a similar argument against broad definitions of political memory.

and therefore as a particular kind of political space. What is most notable here is that these destabilising (re)articulations of memory are relational, 'a product of practices, trajectories, interrelations' (Massey 2004, 5) and that these relations *make* place. The sense of place as 'forever in the making' and the conception of ongoing negotiations of cultural memory formation critiques and supplants arguably more static notions of space, in terms of its territoriality and boundedness, and of memory as linear and unified.[26] Notions of relationality can thus be worked out in a variety of empirical contexts and offer a conceptual framework with which to approach the unsettled and fragmentary layers of memory in places.

Approaching collective remembrance as a 'socially conveyed process' (Reinwald 2009), this dissertation seeks to engage with the processes by which sites of memory are made and change in meaning for those groups and individuals beyond the purview of the state –those 'who do the work of remembrance' in the hinterlands of Croatia (Winter and Sivan 1999a, vii). In doing so, I engage with the memory-narratives in the middle ground, between individual remembrance and state commemorative war remembrance, to insist, as Winter does (Winter 1999b, 40), on 'the significance of agency in the work of remembrance of particular groups of survivors, whose bond is social and experiential.'[27]

Memory, Conflict and Marginal Place

Border landscapes are prone to marginalisation, especially in the hinterlands of urban centres that exist along once contested, or still contested state borders. EU funding for cross-border regional cooperation that aims at local socio-spatial transformations tends to bypass the more peripheral rural areas, as the funding can be wielded by towns more effectively (although here too the effects may be limited or contested). This is because regional investments are inclined to focus on infrastructure or security. Studies in the sociology and anthropology of borders have rightly highlighted the ongoing importance of state sponsored narratives (Chalfin 2006; Donnan and Wilson 1999; 1998). Often, local border communities

[26] 'Forever in the making' is a term found in Wylie (2007, 199) in reference to theories of relationality in landscape research. See: (Marston *et al.* 2005) for the use of 'relationality' in human geography to critique notions of space in terms of static sense of territory, scale, area etc. Assmann (2009, 151) discusses the implications of conceptual frameworks that emphasise the 'fragmentary' and 'highly elusive texture' of (national) memory.

[27] In Ashplant and Roper *et al.* (2000) observe that there are two principal paradigms within which war memory and commemoration are studied. The first is a 'political paradigm' in which memory is a practice bound up with rituals of national identification (Ibid., 7). The other is a 'psychological paradigm' in which war memory and commemoration is significant primarily for psychological reasons as an expression of mourning (Ibid.). Three principal theoretical approaches are then identified: the state-centered approach; that focuses on the political paradigm and the privileging of the official narrative, the social agency approach; focus is on the processes of mourning, loss and healing (Winter and Sivan 1999, 32) and finally, the popular memory approach; concerned with sets of discursive relations between dominant and oppositional forms of memory. See the work developed by Alistair Thomson for the popular memory approach used primarily by oral historians (Popular Memory Group 1998). Although each approach has its strengths, this dissertation, being concerned with the spatial implications of traumatic war memory employs the second which accounts for a complex of relations between various different agencies in official and unofficial commemorative places.

are subject to state-led memorialisation that may even tend to perpetuate conflict. However, the recent literature has also underlined the diversity of local experiences, the role of everyday life, and the agency of local actors in the contemporary context of global challenges (Gordy 2012; Winter 2010; Jansen 2002).

Croatia is both an old and a new frontier, one of the most recent of the ascending nations, with borders that attest to the legacy of significant violent conflict, not only from the wars of Yugoslav succession during the 1990s but also from the more recent dynamics of migration across EU borders (Todorova 1997; Bringa and Toje, 2016).[28] Croatian border landscapes have yet to be the focus of sustained study within the EU context. Since the trauma of violence is more recent, the conflicts at state level are far less resolved or well understood than elsewhere in central Europe, where there has been much research, especially on the Polish-German border, which has been studied since the late 1990s (Sternberg 2017) and more recently on the Ukrainian-Polish border (Zhurzhenko 2017).[29]

Landscape has emerged in a limited, yet productive fashion in the scholarship on memory cultures in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Scholars have revealed landscape sites as playing an essential role in ethno-religious as well as nationalist memorial ritual and practices, with significant studies of rural shrines, grave sites, memorial parks and centres, cemeteries, and prisoner of war camps (HadžiMuhamedović 2018; Zhurzhenko 2014; Rihtman-Auguštin 2004; Schramm 2011; Wagner 2010; 2015). Landscape, however, is rarely thematised as co-constitutive of the memory practices that occur within them. Notable exceptions, specifically in relation to political memory in the former Yugoslavia, are Schäuble's (2014) study of the *Jama*, the karst pits or 'crevice graves' in the Croatian-Bosnian border region; Katherine Verdery's (1999) research on the *foibe*(*a*) karst pits of Northern Dalmatia; and the work of Pamela Ballinger (2000; 2003; 2004a; 2004b) on the border zones of the Istrian Peninsula. Drawing inspiration from these studies, this dissertation reframes the spatial mnemonic role and narrative agency of landscape to consider the implications of border memorial sites where bodies are not buried, but where violence has taken place and is remembered. In rural areas, conflicts can linger, and issues often remain unresolved even when at a national level, those same conflicts may have been relegated to the past, both officially and in everyday life. Diverse experiences in the hinterlands point to different temporalities and to the negative effects of borders that cultivate and consolidate conflict and present barriers to reconciliation. This research addresses these different temporalities by revealing inherited, modified, and

[28] The border crossing between Croatia and Serbia at Tovarnik is 8km from Lovas and remains a site of transnational tension. The crossing was closed as recently as 2015 to discourage migrants and refugees. See: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-34286432. In 2017, 6-year-old Madina Hussiny was killed by a night train when she and her family were sent back by Croatian border guards along the tracks from the Croatian border at Šid (16km from Lovas) to Serbia. See: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/08/they-treated-her-like-a-dog-tragedy-of-the-six-year-old-killed-at-croatian-border.

[29] The latter is especially relevant as Poland once had an external EU border but now has a dynamic internal border. The Poles and Ukrainians have a long history of ethnic mixing and conflict, with current relations being those of suspicion and distrust with fairly open accusatory memory cultures of victimisation now that the Ukraine is once more a contested state.

novel ‘mnemonic practices’ (Olick and Robbins 1998) extending from the post-war Yugoslav period, to the 1990s post Yugoslav period and the post-conflict period from 1995.

Building on the significant anthropological work of Schäuble (2014, 3) I argue that it is necessary to look at ‘marginal and seemingly stagnant’ places in Croatia as emergent memorial landscapes that have been previously neglected and which offer a different perspective on post-war memorial dynamics. Without wishing to posit exaggerated rural-urban binaries, I contend that the focus on urban memory has indirectly hindered a better understanding of the crucial role of provincial borderscapes in the construction of memories and sites of violence.[30] As I intend to show, local landscapes are distinctive memory sites, as susceptible to the unstable, inevitable flux of mnemonic affairs as memorials and ruined buildings, and actually even more so because of the mutability of the landscape. I will argue that landscapes are no less attractive to certain constituencies in creating ordered and politically ‘serviceable’ pasts from post-conflict narratives. Moreover, the focus on marginalised rural communities also sheds light on the memory practices of ordinary, local and non-elite people, who tend to elude the gaze and memory politics of the state.

Landscape as Mediator of Memory in Croatia

Landscapes, especially battlefields, were critical for the construction of post-World War Two memorial culture in the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia (1948 – 1991/1992). The promotion of a new revolutionary society grounded in classless social relations, with a consensual economy, and worker self-management under the legitimate rule of a single party, required the production and maintenance of a socially constructed self-image based in history. Before such a representation of a nation’s past can gain political effect, it must first be circulated widely and shared as a public narrative (Ashplant et al. 2000, 20; Palmberger 2006, 526), often through novel forms of cultural transmission. New political rituals such as rallies, parades, national holidays, commemorative ceremonies, toponymic changes for public spaces, and educational and cultural policies were thus designed to perpetuate the image of the Socialist Yugoslavia and to ensure ideological control over cultural memory.[31]

[30] Urban studies have also increasingly recognised the limitations of ‘city-bounded’ theorisation. For recent developments including urban political ecology studies and other responses to the city as a functional category, see Rickards et al. (2016).

[31] Recent attempts to rehabilitate controversial nationalist actors in the former Yugoslavia suggest that ongoing contestations of memory and regional social divisions persists. See for example the 2015 case of the Belgrade Higher Court’s rehabilitation of Dragoljub Mihailović leader of the Četniks in the Second World War (Ristić and Milkekić 2015) and two newspaper articles on similar cases ‘Serbia Rehabilitate WWII Chetnik Leader Mihailovic’, *Balkan Insight*, 15 May. http: //www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/Serbia-rehabilitates-wwii-chetnick-leader-mihailovic and the Zagreb District Court 2016 decision to overturn a Yugolsav-era conviction of Alojzeije Cardinal Stepinac who was sentenced to prison for collaboration with the Ustaša regime, ‘Serbia, Croatia Trade Protest Notes over Rehabilitation of Catholic Cardinal.’ *Reuters*, 26 July, http://reuters.com/article/us-serbia-croatia-cardinal-idUSKCN106298). These sensitive legal decisions have resulted in the formal exchange of diplomatic protest notes between Serbia and Croatia.

As well as memory production the Tito regime (1943 - 1980) engaged (with variable success) in a type of forgetting that Connerton designates as prescriptive forgetting, a form of forgetting precipitated by an act of state and exemplified, he notes, by the Ancient Greeks, who were 'acutely aware of the dangers intrinsic to remembering past wrongs because they well knew the endless chains of vendetta revenge to which this so often led' (Connerton 2008, 62).[32] And since the memory of past misdeeds threatened to sow division in the whole Yugoslav community and possibly lead to civil war, it was not only those who were directly threatened by motives of revenge who had a stake in not remembering, but all those who wanted to live peacefully together (and importantly for the post war Communist regime, to live in prosperity [Carmichael 2015]). As Connerton reminds us, it is not uncommon that the peace following a conflict be designed with an 'expression of the wish that past actions should not just be forgiven but forgotten' (Ibid.), and this expression may take explicit form in treaties and charters that contain full pardons, as well as injunctions to forgive and forget for the sake of a new order and to restore the legitimacy of the state (Judt 1992; Connerton 2008). Forgetting then involves more than loss: it actually implies a gain. This desire to forget for the sake of something, a more peaceful and better functioning society for example, is closely linked to another type of forgetting in Connerton's typology in which forgetting is constitutive in the formation of a new identity, for which, the agents, functions, and values involved may be more varied than states, governments, or ruling parties. Arguably, both the ruling parties of Tito and Franjo Tudjman (President of the Republic of Croatia from 1991–1999) were engaged in this type of forgetting in order to form a new identity. Arguably, the practice of this type of forgetting has continued in the post Yugoslav context as the Croatian government sought EU ascension and an EU identity, it was required to (again) reconfigure its near and distant past to meet EU membership criteria.[33]

This type of forgetting is to avoid 'too much cognitive dissonance,' so that 'pieces of knowledge that are not passed on come to have a negative significance by allowing other images of identity to come to the fore' (Connerton 2008, 63). Here, Connerton evokes the metaphor of an old jigsaw puzzle: if the old pieces are retained, then it would not be possible for a new puzzle to fit properly together. With memories forgotten and in the absence of knowledge about the past, new 'living space for present projects' (Ibid.) is created, and arguably, there is the opportunity for new material objects to represent a newly forming identity in a selected setting. Forgetting, either explicitly mandated through injunctions or developing through a more gradual and implicit process, is thus part of an active process that creates a new, shared

[32] See Karge (2009) for a discussion of local practices of remembrance after World War II that challenged the official narratives of events and reflected personal expressions of loss, mourning and grief despite state sanctioned 'forgetting.'
[33] The conditions for EU ascension and expectations of state-controlled public remembering are discussed in Chapter Five.

(and fictive) 'collective identity.'[34] This is true not only for nations and governments seeking to stabilise post-war mnemonic narratives but also for the marginalised communities in the hinterlands of border areas engaged in local memorial practices as will become evident in the case studies.

On a social level, within marginalised groups, the roles of external symbols become even more important than at the state level, 'because groups which, of course, do not "have" a memory tend to "make" themselves one by means of things meant as reminders' such as monuments, museums, libraries, and archives (Assmann 2008, 111). Cultural memory requires mnemonic institutions for preservation and re-embodiment if it is to endure across generations.[35] The memories we possess as individuals exist not only in constant interaction with other human memories, but also with 'things, outward symbols,' and as such memory is '*not a metaphor but a metonym* based on material contact between a remembering mind and a reminding object' (Assmann, 2008, 111 italics original). This returns us to understanding how memory is embodied by things and in places. The consideration of material representations of memory aids explanations of why representations of memory take certain forms and, crucially, why they are positioned in particular places.

Landscape is not an object, however, or at least not exclusively, nor is it known only through observation, as many theorists have consistently argued from the advent of the 'cultural turn' in the mid-1980s (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988; Tilley 2004; Howard and Thompson 2018). In uncovering the affective power of place in terms of stimulating and *doing* memory, landscapes are revealed to have particular biographic and topographic modes, indeed, lived and habituated modes that are distinctive. The particularities of a landscape and its capacities as a medium of representation and cultural transmission result in the possibility that the landscape itself can be understood as a mnemonic device, a source of creative and productive tensions that opens up a field of layered spatial relations and memory traces to be critically explored.

1.4 Landscape and Conflict: 'Unsettled' Sites

As the interdisciplinarity of the literature referenced in this dissertation will attest, the identity of landscape has preoccupied architects, urbanists, social anthropologists, and cultural geographers, among others, with increasing intensity over the last two decades.[36] Studies of the term's origins, its multiple

[34] Assmann describes a collective identity as 'something fictive' (Assmann 2011, 114), a product of the social imagination, not dissimilar to Anderson's representation of nations as 'imagined communities' (Anderson 2006).
[35] For an examination of the complexity of narrative transfer of war memory across generations in the context of the ethnically heterogeneous city of Mostar, Bosnia Herzegovina, see Palmberger (2014).
[36] The search for singular or essential understandings of the term 'landscape' has been less of a critical project since the so-called 'cultural turn' in geography in the 1970s, and certainly over the last decade as many cognate fields consider and explore the potential and multiple identities of landscape. For an overview of the varying

definitions and its varied theoretical uses have produced rich and evolving research across these and related fields. The theoretical constructions of what landscape is (and what it is not) include studies of the framing and reframing that determine and marshal its agency.[37] Although the idea of landscape has been elusive since the term first appeared in scholarly discourse, a distinction has often been made between descriptions of the materiality of landscape (landscape as topography) and its symbolic dimensions (landscape as a mode of representation).[38] That has been an efficient distinction for those concerned with landscape theory: landscape as an evidentiary record, an object of study on the one hand, and landscape imagined as a relational structure and analytical construct on the other.[39] The influential cultural geographer Denis Cosgrove (2003) maintained that these two different perspectives produce two distinct discourses in landscape studies; the 'ecological,' which stresses the 'real processes shaping the world around us' and the 'semiotic,' which emphasises 'the processes through which cultural meanings are invested into and shape a world whose "nature" is known only through human cognition' and is always symbolically mediated (2003, 15).[40] Here, to understand cultural landscapes is to engage in a 'post-empiricist' (Schein 2003) approach where the material and symbolic merge. Landscape writing of this kind takes seriously the ongoing, practical making of cultural and material worlds with a critical focus on dominant and hegemonic systems of regulation (Rose 2002; Wylie 2007, 190). For Richard Schein (2003, 202-203) this approach to cultural landscape is concerned with the forms of contemporary landscape politics and landscapes capacity to provide for social change:

> The cultural landscape is not merely the result of human activity. It is both a material thing and a conceptual framing of the world…In short, the landscape is not innocent. Its role in mediating social and cultural reproduction works through its ability to stand for something: norms, values, fears and so on.

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fields of landscape research and their development see: (Howard et al. 2018; Daniels et al. 2012; Wylie 2007); (Braae and Steiner 2018) for discussions of landscape architecture across multiple research disciplines; (Kolen and Renes 2015) for a discussion on the concept of 'landscape biographies' in human geography, social anthropology and landscape archaeology.

[37] Contemporary discussions regarding 'landscape urbanism' highlight the ongoing concern to (re)define and demarcate the content of landscape in contexts that are by their nature complex, dynamic and mutable. Some ordering is required in order to teach any profession, according to Charles Waldheim (Waldheim 2016; Doherty and Waldheim 2016).

[38] Geographers' use of the German word '*landschaft*' and Swedish word '*Landskap*' are not without debate and discussion. Cosgrove's 1998 often cited text, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* has led to an intense interest by Anglophone geographers in neo-Marxist, Postmodern, textual, and iconological landscape studies concerning the origins of the term. See also: (Mels and Setten 2007).

[39] For theoretical discussions regarding landscapes as primarily an external physical object of study see: (Sauer 1963 [1925]; Adevi and Grahn 2012; Scott et al. 2009), and for more relational and process-oriented definitions that have emerged primarily within cultural geography and anthropology scholarly debates see discussions in: (Massey 2005; Marston et al. 2005; Dawney 2013).

[40] Cosgrove (2003) also encouraged mutual scholarly cooperation, respect and understanding between the two discourses. For a recent example of this see (Lindström, Palang and Kull 2019, 74) for a discussion on the potential for the application of semiotic concepts and methodologies for studies of the 'material processes of life.'

As dichotomies have increasingly given way hybrid approaches to landscape have developed which consciously disorder dualities, and which are increasingly concerned with their topological complexities (Whatmore 2002; 2006).[41] The focus on spatial relations in terms of connective properties rather than distance and position requires attendance to the 'hybrid foldings of near and far and past and present' (Wylie 2007, 204) making the critical task for Whatmore to be movement from geometric spatial registers to topological textures:[42]

> In place of the geometric habits that reiterate the world as a single grid-like surface…hybrid mappings are necessarily topological, emphasising the multiplicity of space-times generated in/by the movements and rhythms of heterogeneous association. (Whatmore 2002, 6)

Landscape as a medium for thinking through culture—nature relations might be lost, or at least diminished in this hybrid articulation. Wylie (2007, 205) notes that 'a certain topographical richness is being sacrificed for the sake of topological complexity' in these approaches. In sum, what a topological and hybrid approach might offer in terms of a sense of the dynamic materiality of landscape, prioritising relations and trajectories, may be at the expense of other valuable topographical, visual, phenomenal and synthetic associations. This dissertation is set within this contemporary research context, questioning the hybrid topological approach and proposing that landscape can be better understood as embedded in discourses of relationality, encounter, and affect, and constantly challenging the separation of human agent, political citizen, user, or policy from the changeable natural systems in which they are found. Landscape formulated in this way becomes a constituent part of the cultural fabric, and inseparable from and enmeshed in the 'thick surfaces' that make up our physical environment and our experiences within it without disregarding or minimising its materiality.

The pairing of landscape (and its range of meanings) with issues of social justice is gaining wider academic attention and finds particular valence in the work of geographer Kenneth Olwig. Olwig seeks to recover the original meaning of landscape from its etymological roots in the German word *Ländschaft* in order to redefine it as a critical term in contemporary contexts.[43] Olwig's examination of the root of the modern-day English word reveals that 'the primary meaning of Ländschaft appears to have been a judicially defined polity, not a spatially defined area' (2002, 19). Through his historical account he

[41] According to Whatmore (2002; 2006), hybrid geographies oppose the idea that landscape is a way of seeing, a gaze projecting cultural meaning onto an inert material nature – 'nature, having nothing to say for itself, is the always already crafted product of human interpretation' (2002, 1). For contrasting interpretive approaches see (Schwartz and Corner 2016) and Harrison *et al*. (2004, 10) use of 'topological imagination.'
[42] See also Murdoch (1998, 359).
[43] In Wylie's theoretical study of landscape in the field of cultural geography (2007, 195) Olwig's project is singled out as distinctive. In Mels review of Olwig's book (2003, 381) *Landscape, Nature and the Body Politic* Olwig's originality is noted in his approach to concepts and relationships between 'landscape, land, country, polity, places, custom, law, gender, the body, race, nature and nature.'

revives older notions of landscape as polity and traces the changes to its meaning over time and place (mainly northern Europe) to reveal landscape as 'a developing set of human cultural practices and customs' (Wylie 2007, 190). Landscape, he argues, need not be understood as being either 'territory or scenery; it can also be conceived as a nexus of community, justice, nature, and environmental equity, a contested territory that is as pertinent today as it was when the term entered the modern English language at the end of the sixteenth century' (Olwig 1996, 630-631). In contrast to traditional understandings of landscape that grew out of the history of European painting, Olwig proposes a 'substantive' concept of landscape, and by this he refers to the legal sense of 'creating and defining rights and duties' (1996, 645). As cultural geographers Tom Mels and Gunhild Setten clarify (2007), for Olwig, 'the substantiveness of landscape' is thus 'more concerned with social law and justice than with natural law or aesthetics.' Landscape in this view is a way of understanding a polity's ideals in relation to place identity and practices of customary law.[44]

Olwig's recovery of the substantive meaning of landscape reveals a connection between law and landscape through a particular idea of nature. Again, by appealing to a Latin derivation, Olwig connects the word nature to *nascere* 'to be born,' to 'come into being,' and so he suggests that it is the potential rather than the actual that is at play in the term.[45] Customary law embedded in landscape is not static, he argues, despite its origins in the past; it is nevertheless in a constant state of renewal and growth. Olwig is also concerned with substantive in another sense, that of its being a 'real' rather than an apparent phenomenon, in 'pertaining to things in law' and 'fixed, permanent, or immovable things' (e.g. land tenements) (1996, 645). Here, the materiality of landscape and its associative, representational potential are not mutually exclusive, but integral to its ability to serve as an organising concept. All landscapes have complex contradictory histories and through the study of changing conceptions and appropriations over time, the role of landscape's 'tight weave of land and people through law, polity and aesthetics' can become the critical project (Cosgrove 2003, 138).

Unsurprisingly, given the complexity and evolution of the concept across all cultures, there are multiple words for landscape in the Croatian language including: *pejzaž* which can also mean scenery; *kraj*, which means end, parts, finish, terminus as well as 'landscape;' *predio* which means district, site, prospect, and panorama. A multiplicity of terms to reflect its heterogeneous applications from the more traditional - a scenic vision - to a territorial designation and property ownership. As landscape research has sought to understand how landscape works –how it emerges culturally and how it is practiced—words have been

[44] Although Olwig and others like Tiina, Peil and Jones (2005) have primarily focused on Nordic contexts the principles and practices associated with substantive landscapes have become increasingly applicable beyond the Northern European context. See: (Mitchell 2003b); and (Peil and Jones 2005).
[45] Olwig refers to the philosopher John Passmore (1974, 32) in his explanation of the affiliation between the word nature and the concept of birth. 'The word "nature" derives, it should be remembered, from the Latin *nascere*…its etymology suggests, that is, the embryonic, the potential rather than the actual.'

sought to recognise its dynamism and contestability, to express the countless and conflicted ways in which landscapes are inhabited and traversed, appropriated and consumed. Discussions of Balkan landscapes and material heritage include terms such as unclaimed, dissonant, disputed, unwanted, wounded, and tensioned.

'Unclaimed' is a term used by Lawler (2018) to describe the cause of the socio-political difficulties surrounding the tangible heritage of the People's Liberation Struggle (NOB) on the territory of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina. Difficulties, he argues, arise for material heritage due to its unclaimed nature: 'Unclaimed by social groups advocating for monuments' and sites' protection, unclaimed by monument protection authorities in their efforts to register and inventorise the country's tangible heritage in the post-1995 administrative organisation of the country, and unclaimed by academic disciplines within whose remit study, analysis and evaluation of such monuments and sites should fall' (Lawler 2018, 25). Stublić (2018) contends that the terms 'difficult,' 'disputed,' 'contested' and 'dissonant heritage' (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1996) are increasingly being conflated with the term 'unwanted heritage.' She argues that these terms were initially introduced in the fields of heritage studies and the archaeology of the contemporary past in order to confront 'the obscured histories of certain societies and communities that were not part of desirable history' (Ibid., 33), and that they are increasingly adopted in a pejorative sense to describe the legacy of revolutionary and anti-Fascist struggle, or of the Socialist past more generally. In a different historical and spatial context 'wounded' is a term used by Karen Till (2005) in her work on the memory landscape of Berlin, which she describes as haunted by past histories, previous transformations and narrative constructions. These are clearly suitable terms to apply to the memory landscapes of Yugoslavia and Croatia; however, in each, the materiality of the landscape itself is less apparent. The natural dynamism of the landscape is unlikely to wound a site, or cause it to be disputed, or render it unclaimed in these contexts. The agencies that these terms imply are external to the landscape, not reciprocal.

The terms 'unsettled,' and 'unsettling' have been applied in landscape research elsewhere, although to express different conditions, for example vulnerable coastlines (Jones, Read and Wylie 2012).[46] More recently landscape theorist John Wylie (2017) has used the term in reference to a feeling of being 'existentially unsettled' in all landscapes due to 'distances of not belonging,' drawing on Jean-Luc Nancy's account of landscape as uncanny and estranged spatiality. Wylies's notions of landscape as tension (Wylie 2007, 1), and in particular the tension he marks between knowing landscape via ordering systems of distance and dispassionate contemplation, and subjective embodied knowing, inform my use of the term 'unsettled.' Wylie (2007, 217) speaks of 'the creative tension of self and world,' an

[46] 'Unsettled Ground' is also the title of a photo essay about a series of Pawel Starzec's photographs of architecture and landscapes of the former Yugoslavia in the Calvert Journal www.calvertjournal.com/features/show/5761/landscape-memory-yugoslav-war-camps.

understanding that allows for multiple agencies of non-human presences in the landscape, making landscape neither objective nor subjective, but rather intertwined with the self. This approach lends itself to comprehending landscape in a processual sense, wherein different temporal rhythms –past, present, possible future—are all held in tension. It is useful to understand tension as multi-threaded. However, I argue the tension wrought by the experience of violence in a landscape, lived or remembered requires particular recognition.

The concept of a 'tensioned' landscape is also used by archaeologist and anthropologist Barbara Bender (2001, 3) to describe the complex of material and symbolic elements that make landscapes always potentially 'contested.' Here, with the emphasis on contestation and the shift in verb tense, the concept of a tensioned landscape may serve the purposes of the dissertation more appropriately as it is imbued with the sense that it is a process reflecting the current understanding of landscape as 'always in movement, always in the making.' In her use of the term Bender points to landscape as being subject to forces, even opposing forces, that render it untidy and uneasy (Bender 1998, 25-38). The forces remain largely external to the landscape (2001, 4).

This does not preclude the material landscape itself from being a source of tension, and indeed Bender acknowledges this important relationship; the emphasis, however, is on *us* making time and place, more than us being made by *them*. The notion of unsettledness intends to (re)situate natural landscape conditions in the continual interaction between nature and culture, which both shape and are shaped by each other. Landscape is about the complexity of people's lives, historical contingency, contestation, motion and change. These dynamic relations may overshadow the central relationship between these sets of cultural practices and sets of natural conditions. Landscape is also about the growth of forest, the fertility of soil, the permeability of stone, and the meanderings of underwater aquifers. The landscape unsettles and is unsettled by memory of conflict and trauma in the hinterlands of Croatia, actively influencing and shaping the actions and perceptions of those who configure it as memorial site in an ongoing exchange between the place, its vital nature, and the memorial and social practices that sustain its representational power.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has engaged in three overlapping theoretical discussions to meet three key aims. First, to situate the dissertation within multiple modes of understanding the relationships between landscape and memory by engaging with theories of material representations of memory in landscapes. Second, to highlight the importance of contemporary and historical memory politics for landscape research and for this dissertation in particular given the deeply political history of post World War Two memory work in Yugoslavia and the territorial scale of the state sponsored monument construction within its post-conflict

landscapes.[47] This section also argued for the value of focusing on the conditions of marginal and borderland landscapes for uncovering the tensions involved in the making of memory landscapes and opportunities to reveal distinctive memorial practices. Finally, to distinguish my use of the term 'unsettled' in the post-conflict context of Croatia.

A number of key distinctions and conceptual alignments that inform the dissertation were also articulated. This includes theoretical frameworks which support the 'social agency' approach to memory in order to uncover the memory work of not only the state, but also various publics within the state to select and discourage practices of collective war remembrance in the landscape. In adopting the social agency approach I place the research between the two 'extreme and unacceptable' positions identified by Winter and Sivan (1999a, 10): one in which all personal memories and narratives are the inevitable result of membership of a social group, and the other in which memories and narratives are uniquely individual and unaltered by cultural narratives. This is not to remove the state from the frame of consideration, a criticism levelled at the social agency approach by Ashplant et al. (2000, 9), but rather, as I argue in Chapter Two, to acknowledge there are multiple memory makers who articulate their collective remembrance through complex rituals and performances in shared memorial landscapes in Croatia.

A second conceptual alignment is made in the chapter whereby I argue for a definition of landscape as something both material and symbolic, subjective as well as objective and thus substantive; as a place where things take place. The anthropologist Anna Tsing (2017, 7) usefully captures the substantive landscape as 'a gathering in the making,' and landscapes as both 'imaginative and material; they encompass physical geographies, phenomenologies, and cultural and political commitments.' This definition supports the analysis of problems which the study of landscape can address, including the complex connections, negotiations, and contests of/in/between living beings and nonhuman things in memory landscapes. Captured in the term 'memory landscape,' therefore are references to not only the objects and semiotic markers that we can see, touch, hear, map, photograph, record, and draw, but also the 'sense of place' (Agnew 1987) and the inherent, potential, and constructed 'mnemonic energies' (Assmann 2012, 148 quoting Warburg) that are experienced intangibly, yet might still be articulated. The empirical case studies are opportunities to engage with these multiple theoretical identities of landscape to reveal emergent, and unsettled memory landscapes where things take place and make place.

[47] Adams (2018, 10-11) argues that contemporary landscape discourse often omits the deeply political history of landscape and that it is not by chance that the history of landscape coincides with that of *territory*. Indeed, Antoine Picon (2009, 100-101) locates the origin of the modern concept of landscape in 17th century France as a direct consequence of the technological rationalization of its territory. See also Descola (2016) for his conceptualization of *Landscape as Transfiguration* and Tsing (2017) for her theory of landscape as 'gather-in-the-making.'

Chapter Two will draw attention to significant periods of palimpsestic activities of identifying, marking, remembering, and forgetting in the material and symbolic memorial landscapes of Yugoslavia and the successor republic of Croatia. The landscape's role in nationalist remembrance and commemoration in Croatia is but a part of the field of relations and encounters that governs (or at least attempts to govern) forms and practices of remembrance. The activities of local and state actants are shown to reconfigure landscapes' relationship to memory, politics of place, and identity, generating lasting effects that have been carried forward to contemporary memorial practice in the two case study sites. By taking a longer-term view of the politics of memory, patterns of continuity as well as disruption, discontinuity and trauma, might be more readily identified. How might we distinguish between those acts of memory that took place in the landscapes of former Yugoslavia from those that are present (or were at one time present) in the landscapes of Croatia today? The dissertation seeks to answer this question and will argue that the mnemonic legacies, or 'energies,' of these earlier periods further unsettle the memorial landscapes when, following generational shifts, the dynamics of memory undergo fundamental changes once again, and even more so when lived memory gives way to memory that is wholly disseminated by the media. The case studies in the third and fourth chapters illustrate this point and explore the instability and fragility of traumatic memory transfer in landscapes.

Chapter 2
Memorialising and Commemorating Conflict in Socialist Yugoslavia: Implications for Croatia

Memory is never shaped in a vacuum; the motives of memory are never pure.

James Young, *The Texture of Memory*.[1]

[1] (Young, 1994, 2).

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines processes and performances of memory that have been enacted in landscapes from the rise and fall of Socialist Yugoslavia through its fragmentation into successor states following the internecine violence of the 1990s. It analyses how the commemoration of recent traumas in landscapes is influenced by legacies of remembering and commemorating earlier conflicts. The discussion is organised chronologically to frame distinct mnemonic treatments of landscape that in some cases persist, altered, to the present day, and in others signal a discontinuity with the past. The chapter draws attention to novel or modified examples of landscape features that are ascribed with memorial meaning that is a residual of previous periods. These landscapes set particular material and ideological conditions for key continuities and discontinuities taking place in the commemorative practices of state and non-state actors.

The chapter explores memorial practices in landscapes of two periods. The first period (c. 1941-1989) was characterised by landscape practices specifically linked to constructed memories of the Second World War, or rather, to what was called the National Liberation War in Yugoslavia. This section assesses complex interrelations between the ruling Socialist State Party's attempts to consolidate memory and local interventions in memorialisation practices. The role of landscape as contested grave site is illustrated with the case study of the Jasenovac death camp as an example of a 'past that does not pass' (Odak, Benčić 2016, 4). In addition 'All Yugoslav' *lieux de memoire* are considered in terms of the political elites' promotion of battlefield landscapes as prosthetics for Partisan war experience in the cases of the Sutjeska and Petrova Gora memorial areas. The second period sees the impact of the destruction, vandalism, and neglect of these landscapes and their memorials across the former republic of Croatia during and following the 'Homeland War' (1990-to the present).[2] We turn to the countless dead in the caves and pits across Yugoslav republics to consider local conceptions of 'sacred landscapes' and the intervention, in memorial practices, not only of the state, but of religious authorities.[3] This discussion will engage with debates concerning cultural heritage destruction, and I will argue that memorial landscapes share but also diverge from traditional forms of war heritage (monuments, archives, museums) in the means by which they are generated and affected by conflict.

[2] In Croatia, the Yugoslav war is referred to as the War for Independence, for the Homeland. The Homeland War or *Domovinski Rat*, was the name given to the Croatian conflict by the Tudjmanist narrative of the 1990s (Jović, 2009). It is a commonly used term in Croatian politics, education, and the media, although remains controversial and divisive because it represents Croat self-defence against Serbian territorial aggression. Although aware of the loaded nature of the term, I use it here as it points to the complex relationships toward the concept of 'land' in the conflict.

[3] For academics whose focus is to articulate the 'sacralization of memorial space' through investigations of the relationships between violence, memory, body and landscape see: (Schäuble 2011; Schramm 2011; Feldman 2011).

The selected periodisation brings out two key aspects of the thesis' argument. The first is the prominence of landscape and its agency in memorialisation practice in the context of the former Yugoslavia. Contemporary research has traced important landscape practices and narratives in the founding myths, historical narratives, and memory politics of the socialist period and their subsequent radical negation during the 1990s war. Acts of *mnemocide* in Yugoslav and post-Socialist contexts have generated spatial legacies with which successive political elites have had to contend.[4] The second aspect concerns ongoing negotiations regarding the perception of landscape and its role in remembering conflict, considering how these negotiations expose distinctive aspects of contemporary Croatian memory politics.

A Historical Geo-Political Context

The historical events that preoccupy this chapter span two interwar and post war periods. The World War and civil war of 1941-1945 which gave rise to the multi-ethnic federal state, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and its territorial and political dissolution following Slovenia's declaration of independence in 1991 until the signing of the Dayton peace accords ending the war in Bosnia Herzegovina in 1995. Such a complex period of state building and disintegration requires a timeline to contextualise the contents of the dissertation.

In April 1941 Nazi German troops invaded Yugoslavia forcing open a military route to the Aegean. With the support of its Italian ally a puppet government of Croatian fascists (the Ustaše) was established under Ante Pavelic. The Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna Drżava Hrvatska, NDH) included all of Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, but was also divided into Italian and German military zones, with Serbia under direct German military rule.[5] Italy, which aided the Ustaše's rise to power, seized Dalmatia, the Adriatic islands and a large part of Istria. What had been a single country was severed into at least nine parts (Glenny 2012, 485) (Figure 2.0a).

The Ustaše conducted a brutal campaign mainly against Serbs, Jews, suspected Serb sympathizers and Communist Party supporters in their violent pursuit of a Catholic, all-Croat republic. Two Yugoslav armed resistance organizations mounted a challenge to the Nazis' New Order from the beginning of the war (Glenny 2012, 485). Officers and soldiers who had escaped capture after the swift defeat of the Royal Yugoslav Army fled with their weapons to the mountains and forests of Montenegro, Bosnia, and Serbia. These men were the core of the Četnik resistance movement. Loyal to Colonel Dragoljub Mihailović and

[4] *Mnemocide* was a term first used by Jan Assmann to describe collective acts that intentionally and systematically erase the material and immaterial traces of the cultural memory of a particular social group including notions of *culturocide* and *heritocide* (Assmann 1999). See also Horvatinčić's (2015) use of the term as recently introduced in the Yugsolav post-Socialist context.

[5] Although in August 1941 a government which drew support from Serbia's fascist movement (the Zbor) was installed in Belgrade and led by Dimitrije Ljotić.

2.0a The Partition of Yugoslavia, 1941. Adapted from (Ramet 2006, xxiv).

the exiled royal regime its resistance project was to protect the persecuted Serb population from the Ustaše and had post war aspirations for a Greater Serbia. What was to become a rival resistance organization, the Partisans, was led by Josip Broz Tito and had a very different ideology. Its original members were drawn from the (then illegal) Politburo of the Yugoslav Communist Party (KPJ) motivated not only to defy and overthrow occupation, but to also prepare for socialist revolution.

Although the Partisans and Četniks shared the Ustaša as a common enemy and the majority of members who mobilized for resistance were Serbs, the Communists are generally credited with considering themselves a Yugoslav rather than a Serbian movement (Lampe 2000, 207). Despite early instances of military collaboration against the occupying forces the Četniks and Partisans soon recognised the other as rivals for postwar power.

The Četnik leader Mihailović had Winston Churchill and his government's early support, but it was Tito and his Partisans that ultimately gained the Allies' favour in 1943. The evolving wartime conditions and events that caused the switch included the Partisans impressive ability to assemble and organize an extremely mobile fighting force and the mounting evidence that the Četniks were not only the less effective resistance force but had at times collaborated with Axis occupying regimes (Lampe 2000, 225; Ramet 2006). Tito's Communist Party and Partisan army were well positioned to consolidate political power during the course of 1945 to create the new Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (The Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, SFRJ) (Figure 2.0b).

As the war ended there were few in Yugoslavia who could contest the communists and any attempts by prewar politicians to rebuild party organizations was quickly stifled. Despite assurances made to the British government that postwar plans included a democratic transition Yugoslavia became a one-party state. In January 1946 the first of four constitutions according to which Tito's Yugoslavia was ruled was unanimously ratified by the Constituent Assembly. As a solution to the interethnic hostility and nationalist currents of the Second World War, which Tito saw as a threat to the system, each of the six republics was to have equal control over their separate regional bureaucracies and share the SFRY chairmanship on an annual rotational basis. The wartime partisan slogan 'brotherhood and unity,' the normative principle that declared all socialist Yugoslavia 'brothers' to deter them from civil war, became operationalized in socialist governance and the central pillar in the postwar Yugoslav political and economic system.

From 1945-1948 the Tito regime introduced many features of the Soviet system including five-year plans, agricultural collectivization and censorship of the mass media (Ramet 2006, 4). Although a diligent advocate of Josef Stalin's soviet leadership, Tito refused to subordinate Yugoslavia to his control. The break with Stalin in 1948 resulted in Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform and an economic

2.0b The Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia, 1946-1991. Adapted from (Ramet 2006, xxv).

embargo which would have been devastating for the postwar recovery of the Republic were it not for the United States government offering first economic assistance and trade and then also military assistance (Ibid, 5). The rapid economic growth from 1952-1962 was not to last however and by 1979 the political questioning over the opitimal level of decentralisation had exacerbated the growing discontent toward the distribution of power between the federal government and the federal units. A year after Tito's death in April 1981, with the failure of the Titoist economic programme became increasingly tangible, violence erupted in Kosovo, one of two of Serbia's autonomous regions, which produced a nationalist backlash throughout Serbia. Kosovo was placed under military occupation and the question of the efficacy of Yugoslav federalism to manage interethnic tensions and distrust was questioned once again.

In 1989, a year marked by the collapse of communism across Eastern Europe, Slovenia published controversial draft amendments to its constitution as a clear prelude to secession and held its first free election in May 1990. Multi-party elections soon followed also that spring in Croatia bringing non-communist governments to power in both republics. At the end of the year the Bosnian communists had also lost their governing status and were replaced by an unstable coalition among three ethnic parties, each respectively representing Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims. In Serbia and Montenegro, the local communists retained power by embracing nationalist programmes; in Serbia that meant committing to a program of annexing portions of Croatia and Bosnia (Ramet 2006, 6). Over the course of the year, attempts to find a consensus for a new confederal structure failed, and ethno-nationalist tensions escalated across the republic, fuelled by media manipulation and propaganda, culminating in the outbreak of war in June 1991.

By October 1991 European and international efforts to prevent and then end the violence included ten failed ceasefires and the collapse of a series of brokered peace plans. It was not until January 1992 that the internationalization of the crisis resulted in a ceasefire plan that was signed by both presidents Franjo Tudjman of Croatia and Slobodan Milošević of Serbia. The 'Vance plan,' named after the UN mediator Cyrus Vance, called for the freezing of the existing front lines, which effectively meant one third of Croatian territory remained under Serb control, and the despatch of 14,000 United Nations peacekeeping troops to monitor four protected areas in Croatia. Although this resulted in the reduction of violence in Croatia for another three years, the conflict over Bosnian territory and the struggle for Bosnia-Herzegovina's independence was only beginning and war broke out April 9 1992. Over the next two years five ineffectual domestic and internationally brokered peace plans failed to curb the escalating violence. It was not until August 1995 when the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), launched a campaign of air strikes on Bosnian Serb military targets and the international pressure to end the war had grown significantly that a brokered peace plan would last. The Dayton Peace Agreements were signed on the 21st of November by all three sides, Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims leading to

the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina into a two entity state (one Serb, one Croat-Muslim) in a unified Bosnian state (Figure 2.0c).

Croatia regained its lost territories in the same year following a series of military operations in western Slavonia and resumed control over Eastern Slavonia after its peaceful reintegration in 1998. Tudjman was re-elected as president in 1997 and the European Union decided not to invite Croatia to start membership talks, criticising his regime's policies toward minorities. In January 2000, however, Tudjman's HDZ party were defeated by a coalition of social democrats and social liberals in parliamentary elections. In Serbia Milošević also lost the presidential elections in 2000 and after first refusing to accept the result he was forced out of office by mass street protests and industrial strikes which culminated in the storming of parliament in Belgrade.

As conflict still raged across the former Yugoslavia, the UN Security Council, prompted to act following reports of atrocities and pressure from international public opinion, adopted Resolution 827 to formally establish the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia on 25 May 1993. In 2001 the ICTY was to be the first international court to indict a sitting head of state when Milošević faced charges including crimes committed in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo from 1991 to 1999. A total number of 161 persons were indicted by the Tribunal during its twenty four years of operation.

It took a decade and a half for Croatia to become a member of the European Union (EU) and NATO. Membership talks were protracted and in part contingent on successive Croatian governments attitude towards its cooperation with the ICTY. Following the extradition of a number of indicted Croatian military generals, increased diplomatic efforts to resolve border disputes with Slovenia, and evidence of continued efforts to curb intolerant nationalist policies, corruption and organized crime Croatia, became a member of NATO in 2009 and took its place as the 28th member of the EU four years later.

2.0c The Territorial Arrangement after the Dayton Peace Accords in 1995. Adapted from (Ramet 2006, xxvi).

2.2 Mediated Remembrance in Socialist Yugoslavia (1945 – 1980)

As mentioned in Chapter 1, there has been a dominant scholarly tendency to treat the former Yugoslavia as a 'laboratory' for studying memory politics.[6] This approach reduces a place to a surface on which human experience can be inscribed, rather seeing it as a place where human and non-human material realities entangle and co-configure. In this approach, landscape plays a minor role as passive background rather than as an 'active foreground' that is both created and creative (Bender 1993, 1996: 323; Kartić et al. 2017: 7; Tilley 1994: 233) across Yugoslavia's republics (Palmberger 2016 see also: Ballinger 2003; Basic-Hravtin 1996; Bet-El 2002; Denich 1994; Hayden 1994; McConnell 2018; Moll 2013; Schäuble 2014; Verdery 1999).

More recent studies on the diverse practices and monuments found in landscape settings across the former Yugoslavia have, however, exposed shifting, rather than static, interfaces between actors, their narrative strategies, and the symbolic forms and material practices of war remembrance. Current discussions note that even within the politically charged realm of commemoration and the highly controlled official memory space of Yugoslavia, official narratives had to negotiate with 'vernacular' forms of memory engagement (Dragojević and Pavlaković 2016; Karge 2009; Klabjan 2017; Schäuble 2014; Schramm 2011). In mediating these processes of memory, history, and heritage production, landscapes have become hybridised and unsettled. What is communicated in the studies of these mediations, which often involved conflicts between institutionalised and local memory activities, necessarily involves exploration of the interpretive layers through which the landscape itself is perceived and transformed.[7]

The historian Heike Karge remarks that the relationship between memory and power in the context of the former Yugoslavia is both 'astonishing and obvious' (2009, 49). In her view, a paradox exists whereby academic research overwhelmingly acknowledges that memories of the Second World War were essential to the framing of political rhetoric during the 1990s conflicts, but scholars have not yet produced a profound account of the forty years of commemoration practices in Yugoslavia that preceded them.[8] Jan-

[6] Terms such as memory misuse and 'memory abuse' have been used to describe the appropriation of personal memories by new political elites and religious authorities for propaganda and historical narrative control. See Savhovic and Zulumovic (2015) and McConnell (2018) for recent discussions. Mnemonic manipulation by the media in the 1990s and its consequences are well documented; see Silber and Little (1997) and Judah (2008). Palmberger (2006, 529) stresses, however, that 'not memories themselves, but the way memories were dealt with stirred hate. Memories were misused to further fuel mistrust between Croats, Bosniaks, and Serbs without any attempt to reappraise the past.'

[7] Heike Karge uses the term 'mediation of remembrance' in reference to discussions of collective remembering as mediated action in postmodern cultural studies.

[8] Since Karge wrote this article, however, there has been more scholarly attention paid to individual monuments dedicated to the People's Liberation Struggle, Revolution and the Workers' Movement See: Dragojević and Pavlaković (2016) *Local Memories of Wartime*; also (Kirn 2012); (Hovatinčić 2015); (Čubrilo 2013). There has also been a notable interest, academic, artistic and popular, in Socialist era memorial art and architecture. For example, the 'archivalart' project of Lana Lovrenčić, Tihana Pupovac, Gal Kirn and Rebecca MacKay exhibition at the Galerija Nova in Zagreb 2012 titled: "Monuments in Transition: Destruction of NOB Partisan

Werner Müller remarks in the introduction to his edited volume on post-war European memory that there have been 'numerous studies of cultural memory as expressed in monuments, memorials and works of art, as well as in school textbooks. But while very few would doubt that memory mattered and exercised power in the Yugoslav wars, even fewer would be able to explain precisely how it mattered' (Müller 2002, 2).[9] Karge argues that in part this is due to the idea that collective memories of the Socialist period were 'frozen.'[10] Advocates of this notion propose that suppressed memories of violence only thawed in the 1980s, following the death of Tito, and then to disastrous effect, as private memories became entangled with the ideological manipulation of new nationalist versions of the past.

Karge argues that the diverse actual practices of communicating memories of the Second World War that arose in the post-war years have been marginalised in contemporary historiography, framed by political rhetoric and ideological manipulation (Karge 2009, 49:00).[11] She disputes the claim that memories were merely dormant and highlights the dynamic character of war remembrance, even in the circumstances of state-controlled public remembering. What is more characteristic of remembrance practices in Yugoslavia, Karge argues, is that people have developed an active, adaptive, transformational relationship to officially allowed 'spaces of memory' (Ibid, 53:00). Further, she argues that in light of the discrepancy between official memory politics and the local individual experiences of 'seeing the war' (Winter 2014, 6):

> the 'canon of memory' should not be understood here only as coercion, an instrument of repression used 'from above,' but also as an opportunity – which was to be used and was indeed

Monuments in Croatia" which sought to engage with the images and effects of destruction directed at the monuments and sites commemorating the People's Liberation Struggle of 1940-1945. See also Potkonjak, S. and Pletenac (2016) for a discussion of artistic practice and re-memorialisation practices in Post-Socialist Croatia.

[9] For the role of education policies and textbooks in successor republics see Wolfgang Hoepken, 'War, Memory, and Education' (1999). See also Bal, Crewe and Spicer (1999).

[10] See Judt (2002) *The Past is Another Country: Myth and Memory* for the use of the term 'frozen.' See also Bet-El (2002) in which she discusses the Yugoslav wars, suggesting that national memories are conjured with the conviction of personal authority and that 'words of the past became weapons of war.' Also, note that suppression of specific national memories by Tito was 'to throw the hatred into history's deep freeze' in *The Fall of Yugoslavia* (Glenny 1993, 148). Interestingly, Carsten Paludan-Müller (2015, 264) also considers the post 1990s condition as a 'frozen conflict' which he defines as a conflict where violence has ceased, but where at least one of the parties feels injustice lingers and that issues remain unresolved. He argues that unprocessed grievances manifest in 'new conflict narratives' for re-approriated memory sites.

[11] The description of suppressed personal and collective memories in the Socialist Yugoslavia as 'frozen' also appears in the diverse and varied literature on the disintegration of Yugoslavia and has been associated with interpretations of the causes (widely rejected by scholars but employed occasionally by journalists) as a 'clash of civilisations' and 'ancient hatreds.' See also Todorova for how this language is situated within the discursive construction of Europe's internal 'others' in Eastern European and Balkan hinterlands in her theory of the modern phenomenon of 'Balkanisation' in *Imagining the Balkans* (2009). For a review and critique of theories of and debates regarding the variants of 'Orientalism', 'Balkanism' and 'easternisms' see (Ballinger 2017). For alternative sources that acknowledge the multiple causes of conflict in the former Yugoslavia, but nevertheless maintain a focus on the relation between the collective, memory, commemoration, and the mobilization of ethnic violence, see: (Ray 2010).

> used – to communicate with the past *in the local setting*, where individual, familial, local, republican and federal forms of preserving the memory of war collided.
> (Karge, 2010: 253 emphasis added).

Karge and others alert us to the dynamism of the production and negotiation of memory particular to the post-war context of Yugoslavia and, like others, these scholars resist a strict opposition between official and popular commemorations of violence.[12] An exclusive focus on the state also runs the risk of overlooking the complexity of a public involved in initiating remembrance at historical sites of wartime violence. This includes veteran and survivor groups who are bound by shared war experiences as well as other social institutions and non-state actors (Edkins 2003) who manipulated memory, including regional branches of the War Veteran Unions.[13]

Approaching the topic of war memories in Yugoslavia in terms of actual commemoration practice at particular memorial sites, Karge concludes that the diverse remembrance activities of local and survivor groups have created and negotiated particular kinds of public space for individual and group remembrance.[14] These places were not necessarily constructed in opposition to the official war narrative (Karge 2009, 57), but as alternates, places for local mourning that could be inscribed with ambiguous meanings capable of challenging the official rhetoric of 'Brotherhood and Unity' (*Bratstvo i jedinstvo*).[15] Karge contends that such alterity was a result of an agency felt by these comparatively disempowered local groups that allowed them to engage in practices expressing both personal loss and the

[12] Karge's work can be included with scholarship that questioned the problematic notion of a dichotomy between individual and collective forms of addressing trauma (Feuchtwang 2010; Kirmayer 1996; Schramm 2011; Young DJ 1996). Laurence Kirmayer (1996) in his comparison of the traumatic memories and accounts by Holocaust survivors suggests, for example, that modes of remembrance inhabit different 'landscapes of memory' which connect often radically different individual and collective forms without subordinating one to the other.

[13] In his influential study of memory and the Great War Jay Winter uses the term 'fictive kinship' to distinguish the bond between actors who initiate a diversity of memory practice because they feel compelled, not by the state or any subsidiary organisations, but by their collective experience. Although he uses it in reference to a different historical context, Karge borrows the concept to describe alternative forms of agency and relationships in the former Yugoslavia (2009, 54). See: Winter (1999, 40) '*Forms of Kinship*' and (Winter and Sivan 1999, 9).

[14] Local memory initiatives were common across the former Yugoslavia immediately after the war. Before the Spomen-park Dotrščina 'Valley of the Graves' in Zagreb was designed and constructed in 1964 by Seissel and Bakić there were locally produced and improvised stone edged paths, concrete tombstones, flower plantings and benches, an example of what Horvantičić calls citizen participation in 'shaping the memorial park from *below*' (2019, 219). Klabjan's (2016) study of commemorative practices on the Italo-Yugoslav border also discusses the intertwining of ideological content and expressions of personal grief in processes of private memorialisation at local monuments.

[15] Concern for the role of official heritage-making rhetoric in local memory practices and the layered past embedded in their landscapes was also a focus for a special issue of the journal of the Slovene Anthropological Society in 2017. Although focused on the interplay among landscape, heritage, and memory the case studies are not singularly concerned with war remembrance. Mario Katić, Nataša Gregorić Bon, John Eade (2017). "Landscape and Heritage Interplay: Spatial and Temporal Explorations." *Anthropological Notebooks* 23(3): 5-18.

commemoration of local events, rather than simply follow the sanctioned narrative of sacrifice for liberation and revolution.

Karge and others have raised concerns that the diversity of commemorative and memorial practices in Socialist Yugoslavia have been understudied, and this has led to overlooking alternative acts of agency. I argue, however, that the material site has also been underrepresented (although at times acknowledged as the backdrop for memorial) and its intrinsic value for acts of commemoration is rarely expressed, certainly not explicitly. Practices of remembrance that allow for forms of social exchange and communication, as argued by Karge and others, necessarily operate in relation to the materiality of a given site. The spatial conditions of sites are thus vital, for they allow opportunities for communication with the past; indeed, people have not only adapted the meanings of the spaces, but have transformed the spaces themselves through their commemorative practices. In post-war Yugoslavia, the effectiveness of a site was in part a product of the people's spatial, temporal, and affective nearness to the sites, but its physical character - the adaptability of the hydrology and topography to programmes of memorial design, and the materiality of dead bodies interred in the earth, cave, karst pit and marshland - was of primary importance.

Jasenovac - Donja Gradina: Interpretive Difficulties in the 'Land of Graves'[16]

During the Socialist period, local commemorative initiatives would arise in cases where due to controversy or political obstacle, official acknowledgement was slow to materialise. This was the case at Jasenovac, the most notorious of the concentration camps in the Independent State of Croatia (ISC).[17] Operated by the Croatian Fascist Ustaša regime from 1941 to 1945, Jasenovac was a network of five labour and extermination camps that detained untold numbers of Serbs, Roma, Jews, Muslims, and Croats. According to the 1946 publication by the state commission charged with the investigation of crimes committed by the occupying forces and internal collaborators, the numbers of victims at Jasenovac was estimated to be between five and six hundred thousand, which would amount to one-third of all of the war dead of Yugoslavia (Karge 2009).[18] Soon after the Second World War ended, the existence of the camp complex was acknowledged as a site of wartime atrocities, although material evidence of the camp architecture and infrastructure had been destroyed.[19] Other than the repurposed railway ties for the trains

[16] The 'memorial area' of Jasenovac and Donja Gradina is also referred to as Jasenovac-Gradiška but is hereafter called Gradina.
[17] The acronym in Croatian is NDH, Nezavisna Država Hrvatske (1941-1945).
[18] In the 1980s, the numbers of war dead at Jasenovac and Bleiburg in particular were inflated without documentation by both Serb and Croat revisionist historians. See Ramet (2002), *Balkan Babel* pp. 52-53.
[19] A 1946 documentary film, *Jasenovac* was one of the earliest Yugoslav films produced by the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia Film Company. Jasenovac Collection Artifact No. WJ-0033 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

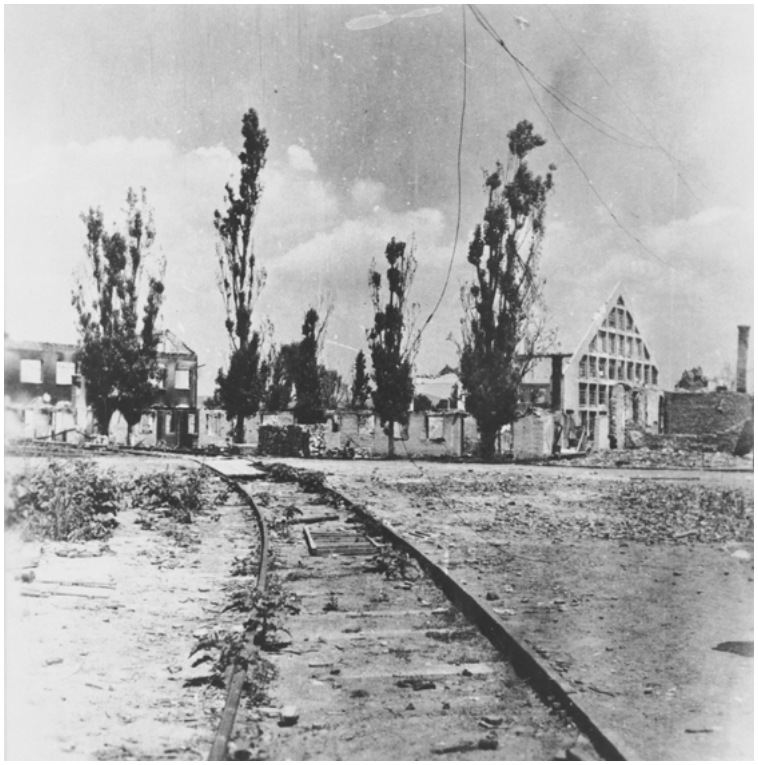
that once carried cattle cars of prisoners, there was nothing material to preserve, only the landscape itself and what meanings it contained [Figure 2.1].

The public acknowledgement of the atrocities that took place at Jasenovac signalled that it was not subject to the Tito era moratorium on difficult narratives of inter-ethnic conflict.[20] The existence of the camp, however, challenged two elements of the established war narrative: that the nations of Yugoslavia equally shared both the shame of collaboration and the heroism of partisan victory; and that domestic perpetrators were to always be described as ethnically neutral, their crimes externalised: they were the 'marginalized non-communist powers of all-nations' (Radonić 2012, 166). The official narrative was further challenged by the persistently unconfirmed number and identities of the dead. Official commemoration of the victims was therefore difficult within the established wartime narrative framework (Karge 2009, 54; Sindbæk 2012) and also within the Yugoslav memory politics of conciliatory universalism. The result was twenty years of delay in official commemorative construction, with the site not furnished with memorials until the mid-1960s.

Despite the belated official response, forms of remembrance were continuous at the site. Survivors and relatives 'conducted common visits to the former concentration camp, lighting candles there or laying a wreath at a provisional wooden commemorative plaque' (Karge 2009, 56-57). They did not passively wait for elites to resolve the sites' interpretive difficulties [Figure 2.2]. Indeed, these groups were to become a collection of activists who sought official public remembrance at Jasenovac, and they pressured the Yugoslav political elite, principally through letters of petition to the central War Veterans Union of Croatia, lamenting the site's neglect and lack of acknowledgement of their dead. In the 1950s, at the local village level and initiated by the local Communist Party, a board was formed that planned to launch its own initiative 'to build there, on the site of the former camp, a huge monument surrounded by an international park.'[21]

[20] Palmberger (2006, 529) summarises the importance of the 'single memory' of *Brotherhood and Unity* under Tito: 'Although it was not allowed to discuss memories of oppression and war crimes other than those committed by the Germans in public, they continued to exist as counter-memories and were recounted in the private sphere.'

[21] HR-HDA 1241/2 SUBNORH, RO 1952-54, kut. 47, no.75, "Inicijativni odbor za gradnju spomenika žrtvama fašizma Jasenovac Republičkom Odboru SUBNORH Zagreb: 15 May 1952. Savez Boraca Narodnooslobodiliačkog rata (Jugoslavije) (League of Veterans of the War of People's Liberation). After 1962 the name was changed to Savez udruženja Boraca Narodnooslobodiliačkog rata (SUBNOR) translated here as the League of Organizations of Veterans of the War of the People's Liberation.



2.1 View of train tracks leading to the gate of the destroyed Jasenovac concentration camp (1945): United States Holocaust Memorial Museum collection photo No. 46696, courtesy of *Memorijalni muzej Jasenovac*.

2.2 Makeshift memorial at Jasenovac memorial zone 1960: *Spomenik* Database. Photo source: Spomenik Database www.spomenikdatabase.org/jasenovac [accessed 4 May 2019].

In 1952, after growing public pressure and the silence surrounding plans for Jasenovac, a letter was directed to the Central Committee of the War Veterans Union of Croatia in which activists insisted more strongly on a Republican response:

> With regard to this question we would like to mention that over the last few years, many men and women from different regions of our country have come to Jasenovac. After having paid their respects to the victims who had fallen, they leave disappointed, saying: 'Everywhere monuments are built, but in Jasenovac, where most of our people died, there is no visible monument at all, no place where one could at least lay a wreath.'[22]

In the same year, however, the Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War (*SUBNOR*) in Belgrade stopped all local plans for a memorial on the grounds that it must instead become an 'all Yugoslav memorial' and rather needed to be centrally planned.[23] The site and plans for it subsequently remained unchanged for another six years.

In 1963, ten thousand people attended the annual commemorations at Jasenovac, their numbers having grown from seven hundred only seven years previously. This demonstrated an evolution in the diverse memorial practices that ranged from the modest self-initiated gatherings of the 1950s to more institutionalised, though still unofficial, 'public demonstrations.'[24] The state could not legally build a monument until the enactment of the *Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments* late in 1963. In addition, the site needed drainage as it was marshland, and although this had begun earlier it could not be completed until it was declared state property. Clearly the lack of an official memorial was a profound disappointment (if not outrage) for those who wished to mark Jasenovac as a site of suffering. However, its indeterminate legal status resulted in its affectivity remaining open for individual and collective interpretation. For a time, the material site reflected a cohabitation of diverse memory practices, and although the dominant discourse did eventually lay claim to the site, local structures (of kinship, customs, and traditions honouring and remembering the dead) spread throughout the landscape. Personal remembering, local memories, even present experiences and future becomings of the site, could not be

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[22] As cited in Karge (2009, 56).

[23] The central War Veteran Union sent the following order to the local board in Jasenovac in response to their initiative: 'we notify you of the following: The Central Board of the War Veterans Union informed us by telephone that no action must be undertaken in terms of building until the responsible authorities in Belgrade and Zagreb have decided about this case, for the erection of a monument at Jasenovac is a common endeavor of all republics. We will inform you as soon as this matter has been solved.' HR-HDA 1241/2 SUBNORH, RO 1952-54, kut. 47, no.75, 'Glavni Odbor SUBNORH Zagreb Inicijativnom odboru za gradnju spomenika žrtvama fašizma Jasenovac,' August 23, 1952. As cited and translated in Karge (2009, 56).

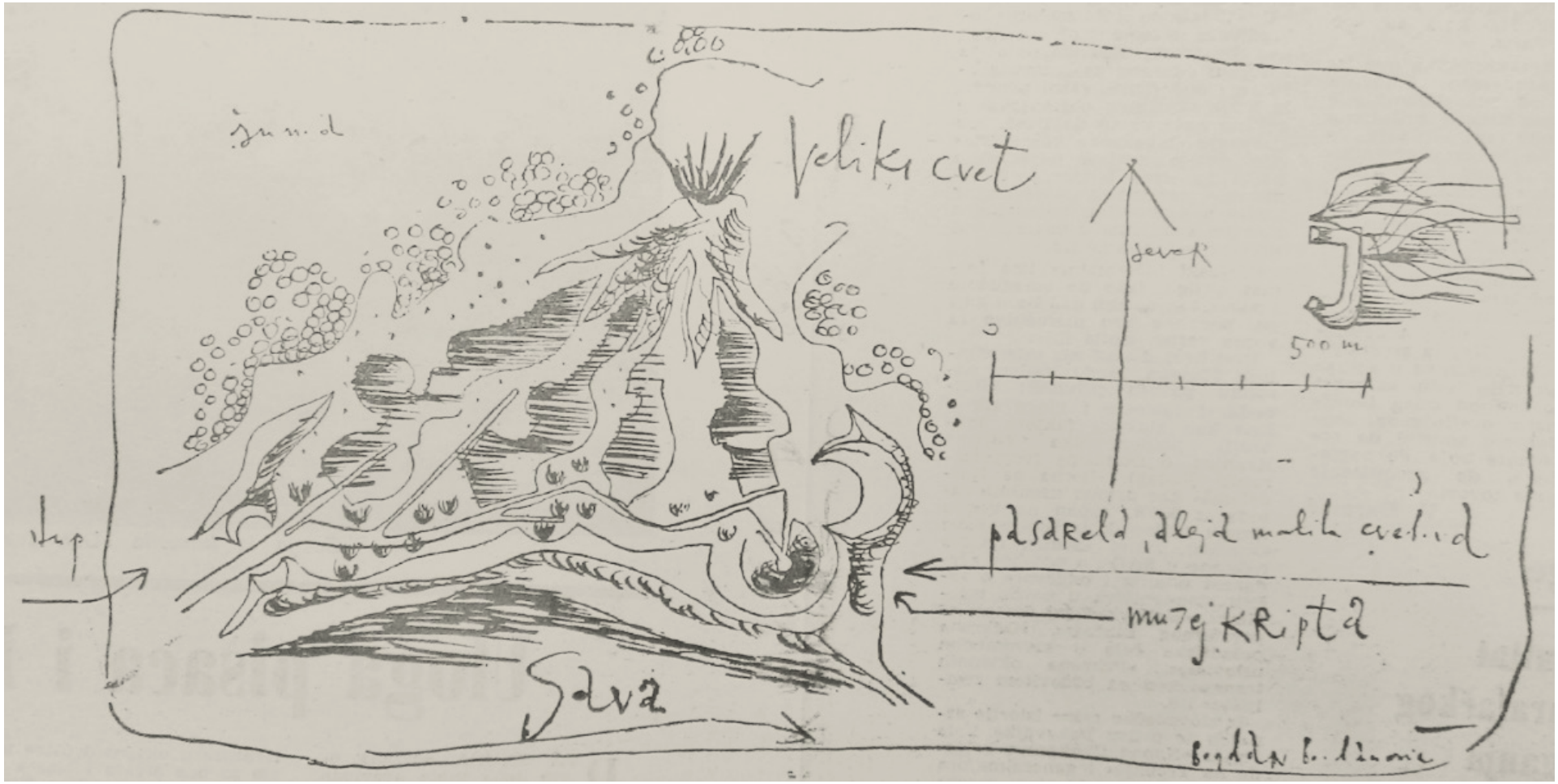
[24] Following the 1963 gathering of 10,000 people at Jasenovac, the Yugoslav political elite described it as a 'public demonstration' in official documentation HR-HAD, 1241/2 SUBNORH, RO 1964, kut. 294 unpaginated., '*Stenografske bilješke sa sastanka za podizanje spomenika u Jasenovcu*,' *Session on the construction of a memorial in Jasenovac* April 10, 1964 as cited in (Karge 2012, 112).

entirely restricted by the administrative, normative, and official narrative of the past. In spite of attempts to minimise, set aside, and obfuscate intimate and collective memories of violence, they continue to resurface at particular significant moments as various voices of the past, with the capacity to evoke affects and silently (or not) reconfigure a particular landscape (Katić, et al. 2017). Ethnic and nationalist groups continue to observe and gather at official and unofficial commemorations at the Jasenovac site. The gatherings take place on different memorial dates and regularly protest at the alternate commemorations each charging the 'other' with the (re)appropriation of the memorial site's ideological content.[25]

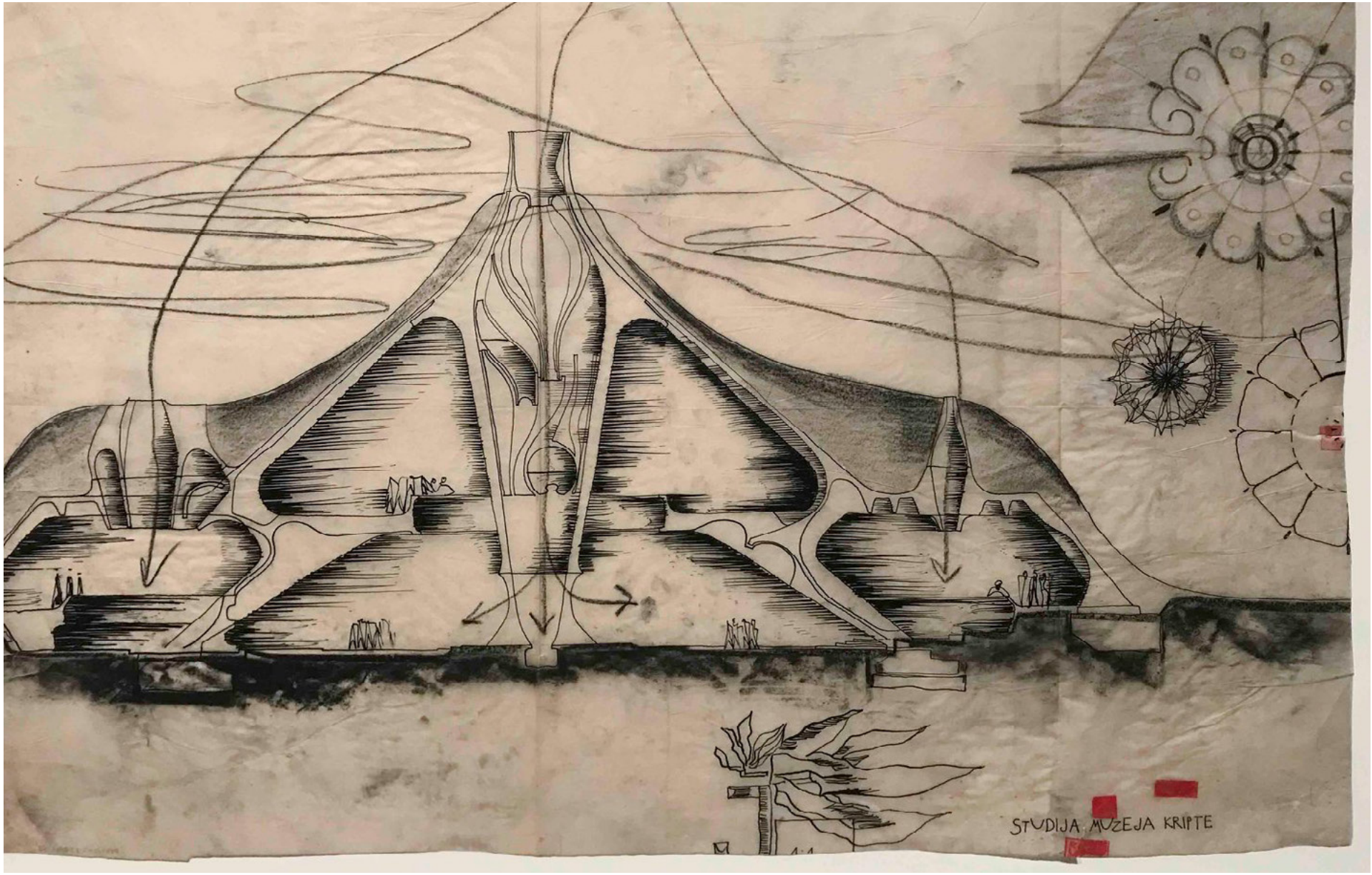
The beginning of the 1960s marked a turning point in the ruling Communist Party's approach to the installation of a Jasenovac memorial. The plans evolved from a modest (read inexpensive), small scale proposal for a 'collection of bones, an ossuary on narrow territory which could be a national park' (Karge 2015) to the most impressive and costly of monuments. The original design competition discussed in the 1950s was abandoned and then reopened a decade later, this time by invitation only, and won by Bogdan Bogdanović for his 1966 'Stone Flower' design and memorial area [Figure 2.3a and 2.3b]. The stages of the competition, award, and construction were among the few fully funded federal projects, and ultimately approved by Tito himself.[26] Finally, then, after twenty years of delays caused by the endlessly conflicted narrative of Jasenovac, coupled with financial and instrumental factors, the first official commemorative act at the former camp was observed at a ceremony on 4 July1966. Karge notes (2009, 57) that although all the pressure and protest were not likely to have significantly influenced the political elites from the Special Board in Belgrade, it played an important role in sensitising the Yugoslav public to the 'missing Jasenovac memory space.' This sensitisation to an absence, or rather a neglected presence in the landscape, was not evenly distributed across the Jasenovac complex of camps. Each of the five sub-camps had specific topographical and instrumental conditions that contributed to a protracted indeterminacy, compounding its 'unsettled' status and mediating the mourning and memory activities within the landscape.

[25] As recently as 2017, anti-fascist protesters gathered during the official annual commemorative ceremony at Jasenovac carrying banners that criticised the presence of the 'Ustaša salute' on site. This is a reference to the Ustaša period slogan *Za dom spremni* (Ready for the Homeland) installed on a plaque in the vicinity of the former camp. For a comparative analysis of media coverage of commemorative practices in Croatia see the work of the research group 'Framing the Nation and Collective Identity in Croatia: Political Rituals and the Cultural Memory of Twentieth Century Traumas' (FRAMNAT), conducted at the University of Rijeka from 2014 to 2018. http://framnat.eu/jasenovac-eng/?lang=en [Accessed 12 December 2017]. See also (Pavlakovic and Paukovic 2019).

[26] Other large 'All Yugoslav' memory sites that received funding directly from the federal government included Titovo Užice, Drvar Bihać, Jajce and Sutjeska which is discussed below; the narratives of these sites conformed more closely to the official line. Tito did not attend the inauguration of the 'Stone Flower,' nor is there evidence that he ever visited the Jasenovac site.



2.3a Conceptual drawing for the Memorial Area of Jasenovac by Bogdan Bogdanović
Published in *Četvrti Jul* 19 March 1963.



2.3b Bogdan Bogdanović section study drawing for the Partisan Memorial Cemetery in Mostar crypt museum, Bosnia Herzegovina (1959-65). Bogdanović also had plans for an elaborate subterranean ossuary under the Stone Flower at Jasenovac, but it never materialised, as it was claimed to be too expensive given the economic-political reality of late Socialism and the flood plain problematic for construction. Photo: Anna Talley.

Multiple landscapes had been implicated in the mass violence that took place at this series of camps along the banks of the river Sava, violence which included both forced labour and extermination [Figure 2.4]. Donja Gradina (now in Bosnia Herzegovina under the protection of the government of the Republika Srpska), which is across the river from where Bogdanović's Stone Flower now stands, is the marshland site of forty-one mass graves of former camp prisoners.[27] Due to the physical presence of the uncounted dead and the (mis)narration of their numbers, this site is arguably more 'unwieldly' than others in the network of camps.[28] The swamp grass that once allowed for the easy and clandestine burial of camp prisoners also presented a flood risk for memorial plans in the decades that followed.[29] The bodies and the conflation and revision of their numbers again served as a political obstacle to memorialisation for the former collaborating Republics on either side of the Sava. The Donja Gradina site lacked official marking until the mid-1980s when the memorial zone and its facilities were eventually developed in association with the main Jasenovac site [Figure 2.5]. The official memorial essentially remained 'in process' for the entire duration of Socialist Yugoslavia. The grave fields remain as sunken impressions in the cut and tended grass which grows among the stands of trees for which the fields are named 'Oaks'(*Hrastovi*), 'Elm' (*Brijestovi*), and 'Willow'(*Vrbe*). The site is open to the elements and has minimal pathways, and the impressions in the earth are most easily seen from the air, with aerial photographs revealing the graves as 'natural' counterpoints to the artificial grave mounds and sunken earthworks of Bogdanović's site [Figures 2.6 and 2.7]. Since independence, the Gradina memorial centre has functioned independently of its Croatian counterpart and the discrepancy in the number and identity of the victims, and therefore the struggle to control the dominant discourse, has returned and is reflected in the form of on-site public information plaques in multiple languages [Figure 2.8].

The protectiveness and reticence regarding official determinations for a Jasenovac memorial corresponds to what Wylie has termed 'ontopological thinking' (Wylie 2016). Borrowed from Derrida (1994) the term combines ontology and *topos*, a fusion of existence and location, with ontopological discourse asserting a sustained link between a site and its (dead or living) inhabitants (Wylie 2016, 409):

> In their strongest form, ontopological forms of thought thus advance arguments that are predicated upon some essential, given connection between peoples and landscapes. Beyond such a strong or essentialist articulation, ontopological thinking more generally proceeds from the

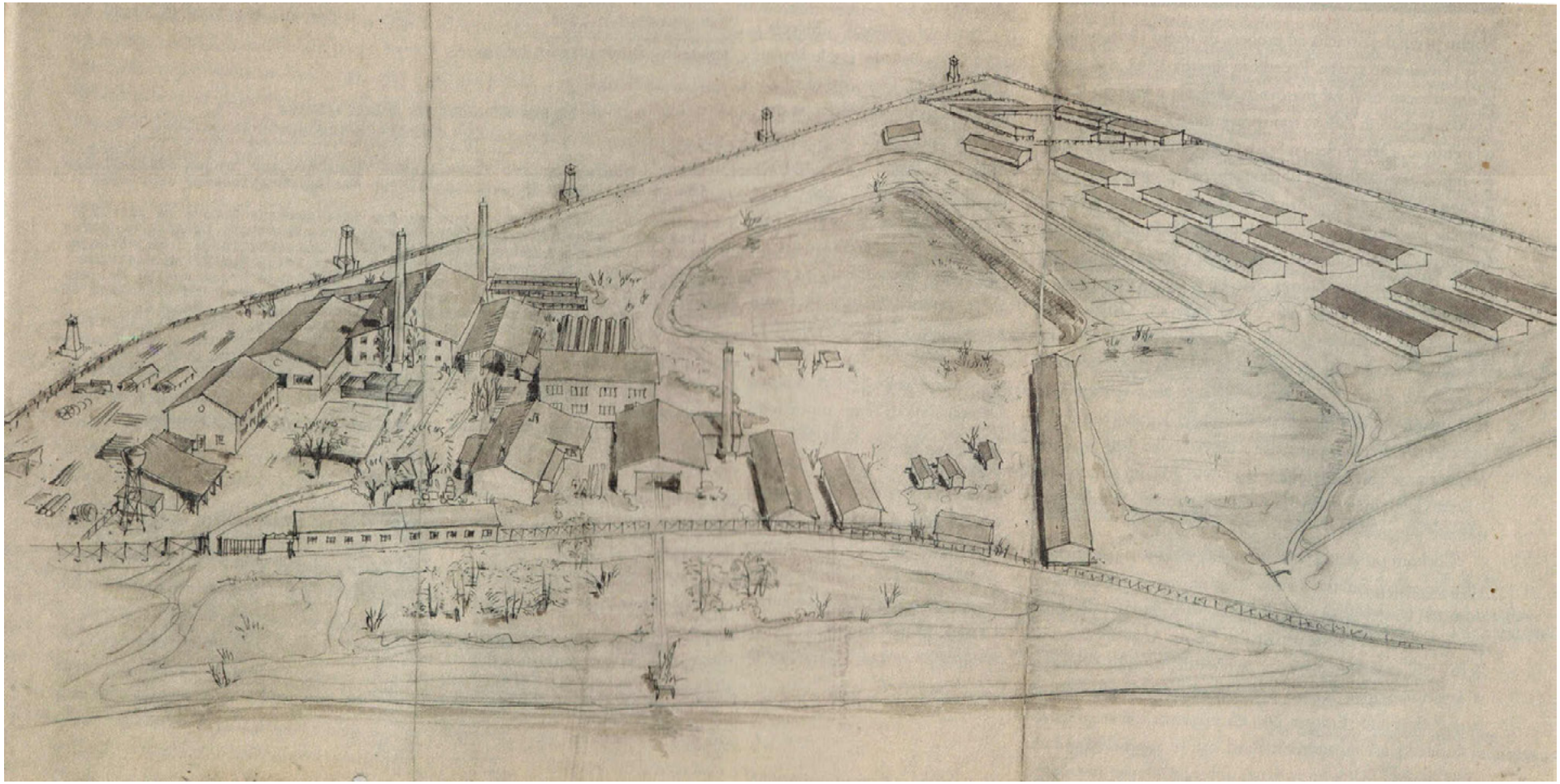
[27] The numbers of victims at Donja Gradina is also disputed, although less publicly than the Jasenovac site. Forty-one is the number of mass graves according to the Donja Gradina memorial zone authority jusp-donjagradina.org [accessed 3 June 2018].
[28] Karge says that Gradina was 'unwieldly' from the perspective of the authorities because of the identity of the perpetrators; the dead being victims not heroes; and the confusion and early official declaration over their number (2015, 10:22).
[29] As recently as 1988 the river Sava's natural ebb and flow carried away part of the riverbank to reveal the bones of WWII victims assumed to be from Jasenovac which were moved to the on-site ossuary at Donja Gradina.

> assumption –or, alternately, sets out to demonstrate—that certain peoples and certain landscapes belong together and are made for each other, if not naturally, or in an environmentally determinist fashion, then at the least historically in a deep sense: they have evolved together, they bear each other's imprint, they are inextricably interwoven.

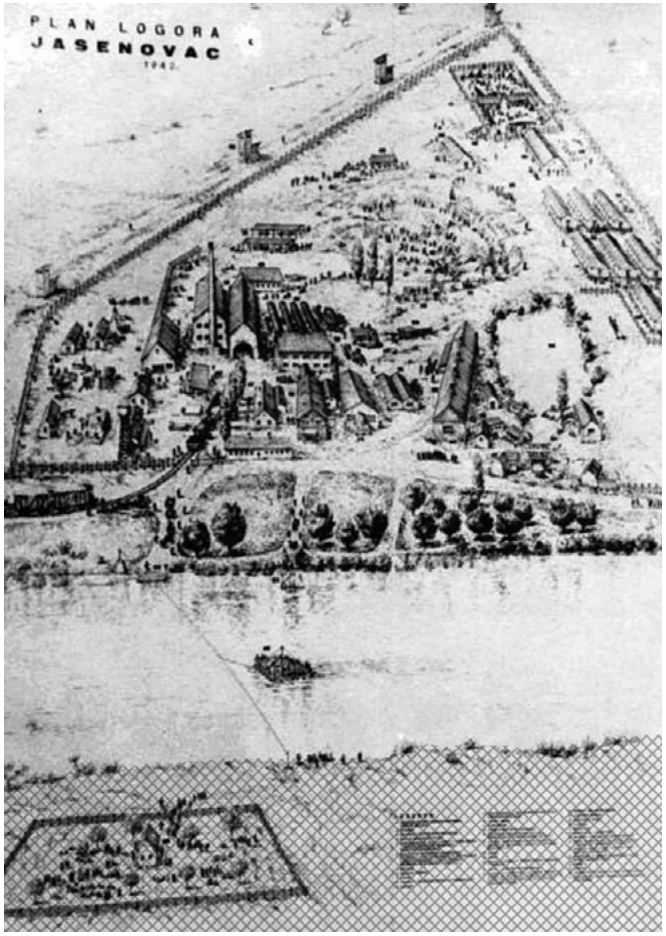
The official delayed and cautious reaction to a Jasenovac memorial betrays an awareness of, or sensitivity to, the presence of this type of thinking across the Federation. As the political geographer David Campbell (1998) and others have explained, this 'yoking-together' of people, culture, time, and land, was indeed mobilised in the extreme ethnic nationalism that contributed to the dissolution of Yugoslavia (Wylie, 409). As Wylie proposes, however, it is possible to think of this kind of '*homeland thinking,*' that is, the collapsing of 'landscape' and 'homeland,' as active at a level other than a 'nation.' Here, we may return to the local activism around Jasenovac and Donja Gradina to recognise that narrative control remains incomplete. A death camp with nameless victims and perpetrators void of material remains, and a marshland of innumerable graves: the indeterminacy of these sites means that local expressions of grief and mourning could be expressed in the landscape pending memorial construction and after, despite the powerful official response to a locally derived memorial initiative.

More than the memorials, the landscapes in which they were constructed reveal a heterogeneity, dissonance, and multiplicity of treatments and outcomes for selective remembering. Landscapes of violence in particular are not fixed, separate, and immutable, but rather co-constituted by, mediated through, and integrated within a wider context in which violence is perceived to manifest as a localised and embodied experience. In the context of the intense memorial production of the 1950s in Yugoslavia, the families of victims and survivor groups were shocked by the delayed attention to Jasenovac. This reflects uneven expressions of *homeland thinking*, expressions that are site specific. A focus on the landscape makes it is possible to see that homeland thinking is varied, heterogeneous, dissonant, and multiple.

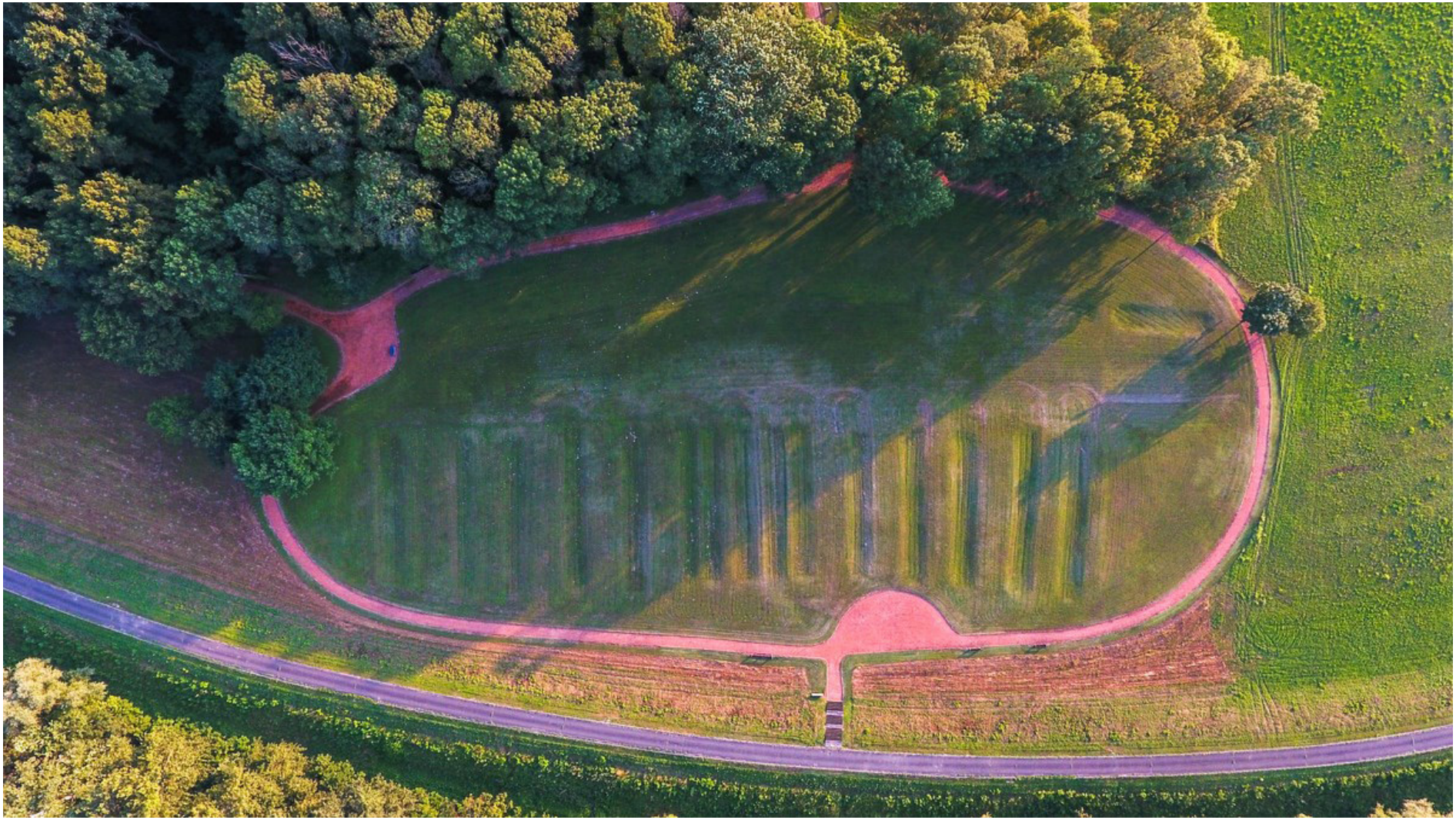
Landscape as it is actively and physically transformed may also transform the experience of everyday commemorative practices in ways not possible with memorials. Sites themselves also have certain constraints which affect (or may delay) commemorative treatment. The Party elites' processes of selecting and evaluating places of war memory reveal a politically motivated hierarchy based on local, republican, or Yugoslav significance, with an early distinction made between the memorial landscapes of 'heroes' and the memorial landscapes of 'victims.'



2.4 Drawing of the Jasenovac camp complex in 1942 including the brickworks, the excavation pit for the clay and barracks: Jasenovac, Croatia. Photo Source: Donja Gradina Memorial Site www.jusp-donjagradina.org [accessed 5 May 2019].



2.5 In January 1942 the village of Donja Gradina opposite the Jaenovac complex camp on the right bank of the river and became an execution site. Cross hatch shading by the author. Adapted from the image retrieved from: Donja Gradina Memorial Site www.jusp-donjagradina.org [accessed 5 May 2019].



2.6 Donja Gradina Memorial zone aerial photograph of mass grave burial mounds: Film still retrieved from Donja Gradina Memorial Site www.jusp-donjagradina.org [accessed 5 May 2019].

2.7 View of the path that leads to the 'Flower Monument' *(Cvjetni spomenik)* commonly known as 'Stone Flower' (Kameni Cvijet) at the Jasenovac complex with bronze relief map showing mounds and impressions in the landscape, designed by Bogdan Bogdanović (1960-1966): Jasenovac, Croatia. Photo source: Spomenik Database www.spomenikdatabase.org/tjentiste [accessed 4 May 2019]. *That simple happiness, the window's glint; Swallow and young; or windborne garden sweet-Where? – The unhurried cradle's drowsy tilt? Or, by the threshold, sunshine at my feet?* This stanza, from the poem Jama (The Pit) by Ivan Goran Kovačić [1943 translation by Alec Brown (1961)], was studied by all elementary school children in SRFJ. The poem appears on a bronze plaque on the North side of the Jasenovac 'stone flower' memorial. The imagery and knowledge of the pit graves were part of the mnemonic landscape of the Republic.

2.8 Plaques at the Donja Gradina Memorial Zone with numbers of victims according to ethnicity and religion: Donja Gradina, Demirovac, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Photo Source: Donja Gradina Memorial Site www.jusp-donjagradina.org [accessed 5 May 2019].

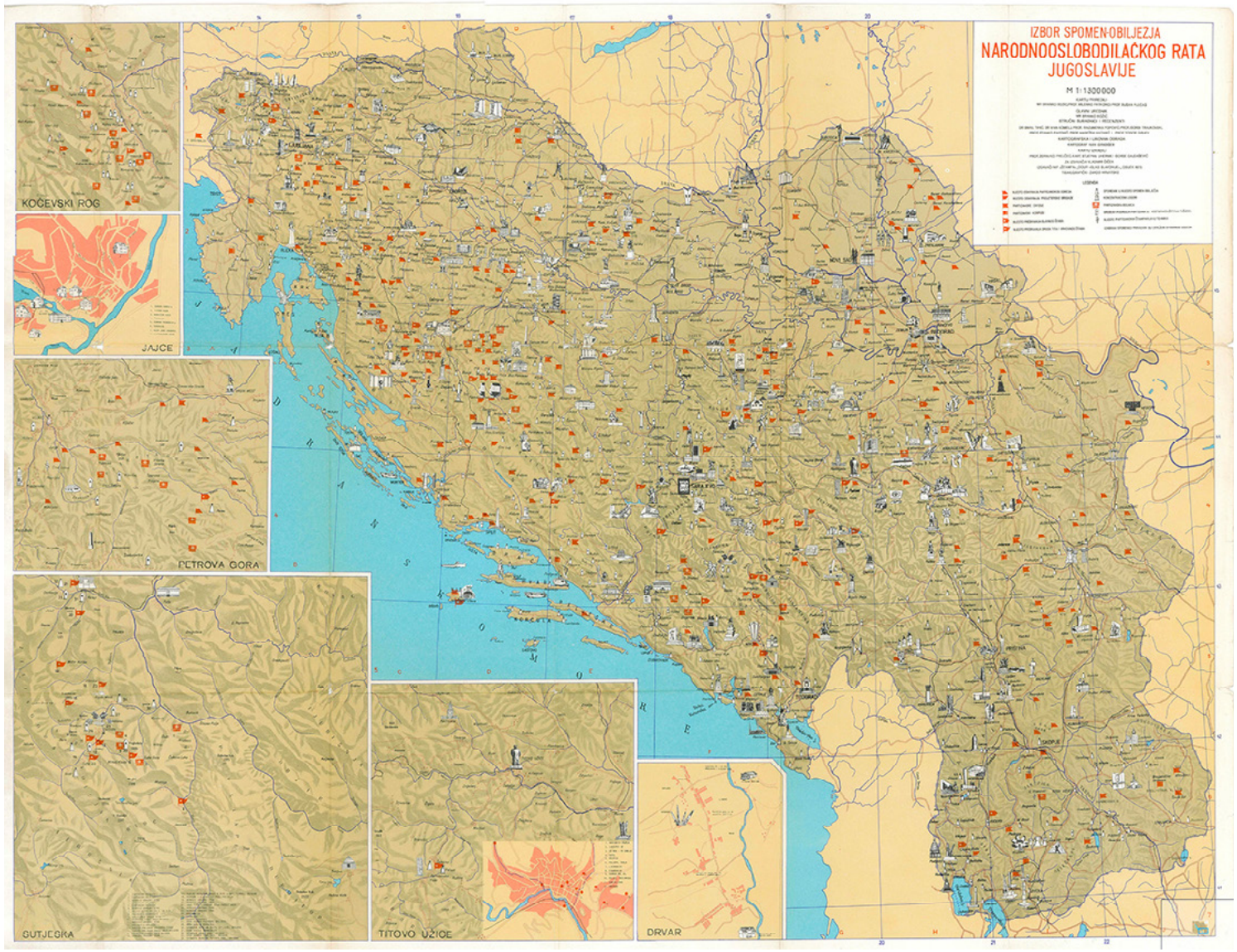
2.3 Landscape, Embodiment, and Abstraction

Yugoslav practices of war remembrance included the construction of thousands of official public war memorials and monuments across the federation, although they did not result from harmonised acts of cultural or political production. Republican funds were reserved for larger projects, with sites of mass Partisan graves and battlefields serving as material and symbolic reminders of the trinity of 'Brotherhood and Unity', 'the Socialist Revolution' and the 'National War of Liberation' (Karge 2009; Schäuble 2011) [Figure 2.9]. Many more memorials and monuments - tens of thousands - were planned, financed, and constructed across the federation at the local level, by towns and districts to fulfil local needs (Horvatinčić 2018; Ballinger 2004; Rihtman-Auguštin 2004; Kirn 2014). Such was the proliferation of monuments across the federation that in 1961 an official stock taking was made for the War Veterans Union All Yugoslav War Veterans Congress. There was concern expressed at the vast number of memorials that were not the result of the centrally initiated 'commemorative campaigns' but instead erected spontaneously with the finances of local communes and 'ordinary people' (Bodnar 1992, 24). As 'popular architectonic monuments' (Silič-Nemec 1982 in Kirn 2014, 315) their political and ideological content was not prescribed by the Party apparatus or any other central agency.[30]

Local monuments were criticised for their funerary aesthetic, their nineteenth century architectural language, and their orientation toward religious symbolism. The narrow register of artistic practices used displeased the political elite, who preferred to marginalise the rituals associated with such monuments promoting instead a narrative of war memory that was 'optimistic' and future oriented. Particular displeasure was reserved for those architectural and sculptural solutions that were oriented toward forms of war memory developed in response to the First World War, evidence of which could be seen across the republics (Horvatinčić 2018a).[31]

[30] The 1961 survey revealed there were 14,000 memorials and historical monuments to the war in Yugoslavia (Karge, 2015). Around 80% of these monuments erected in the first ten years after the war were built in an uncontrolled manner and not centrally ordered or monitored (Kirn 2014, 316).

[31] After the First World War the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) engaged in state sponsored memorial production as an attempt to legitimise a unified state under King Aleksandar I Karadordević. As this heritage was determined to conflict with the state identity of the SFRJ after the Second World War, 'those monuments valued as reactionary by the communist regime were destroyed and removed' (Klaić 2011, 176). See: (Winter 2014) for a discussion of the shift away from the figurative representation of war since the First World War toward the preservation of the face and voice of the witness of terror.



2.9 Tourist map of the '*Spomenik*' sites across Yugoslavia, 1975. Many more were built after this date. Map originally provided by the photographer Jan Kempanaers to Daniel Niebyl. The legend is translated, below right. Retrieved from www.spomenikdatabase.org/1975-map [accessed 15 June 2019].

One expert commission initiated by the Serbian War Veterans Union at the end of the 1950s lamented that, following its survey of approximately three thousand monuments to the National Liberation War, 1,871 commemorative plaques were described as 'funereal' rather than 'sanguine.'[32] At the fourth plenum of the union in 1960, local tendencies were further criticised:

> As a result of insufficient attention that was paid to the field of monuments we have – instead of those monuments, which first of all demonstrate the readiness to combat and a revolutionary thought – a rather large number of monuments that are also dedicated to the memory of victims of assassinations and fascism. However, the great War of Liberation and the Revolution evolved and raged for almost four years on the territory of our country and so most of the monuments ought to express the liberating and revolutionary course of the National Liberation War and the Revolutions than shootings.[33]

A melancholic typology of obelisk, pyramid, porcelain portrait, and single 'plinth-bound' (Gough 2006) figures carrying weapons seemed to officials to be too figuratively familiar and too referential to the treatment of the dead in previous epochs. In the official governing myth of the Yugoslav war, people gave their lives not only for liberation, but for something 'innovative,' something constructive, namely the Social Revolution (Karge 2015). This official imperative, manifestly more important following the break from Soviet influence after 1948, created unprecedented opportunities for the country's sculptors and architects 'to cultivate and construct a culture of remembrance, as that ambition closely aligned with their fledgling nation's socio-political interests in the post war era' (Horvatinčić 2018, 105; Ritter *et al*., 2012).[34] The commemoration of the mythologised origins of a Socialist state born out of a liberation war and a revolution took the form of memorials ranging from modest plaques to complex urban compositions, and culminated in massive landscape interventions that produced synthetic environments that 'blurred the boundaries between landscape, architecture, and sculpture' (Mrduljaš and Kluić 2012, 52). [35] The memorial projects were varied in form and function. There were monumental objects set in

[32] HR-HAD, 124/2 SUBNOR. HRO 1961 kut. 287, unpaginated as quoted in Karge (2009, 52).
[33] Contribution to the plenum's discussion by the architect Živo M. Djordjević in HR-HAD 1241/2 SUBNORH, RO 1961, kut. 287, unpaginated as quoted in and translated by Karge (2009, 52).
[34] With the 1950s development of 'self-management' as a specific form of Yugoslavian Socialist governance and the split with Joseph Stalin in 1948, the doctrine of Socialist realism fell out of favour and was criticised by the artistic community for its propagandistic use. For discussions on artistic autonomy and critical debates in the 1940s and 50s as well as expressions of Socialist modernism see (Horvatinčić 2018 and Kulić 2019; Kulić, Mrduljaš and Thaler 2012).
[35] The Veterans' Union published a selection of monuments in its 1968 publication entitled *Monuments to the National Liberation War*, that were constructed across the federation. In her study (2012, 6) of the rich and diverse body of commemorative sculpture in the former Yugoslavia, Horvatinčić identifies three categories of monumental sculpture within the publication: the realist school, liberation from the traditional and the search for a new style, and contemporary tendencies in shaping monuments. She argues that these categories demonstrate that from the late 1960s onwards, the focus was primarily on representative aesthetic quality rather than either realist or abstract art.

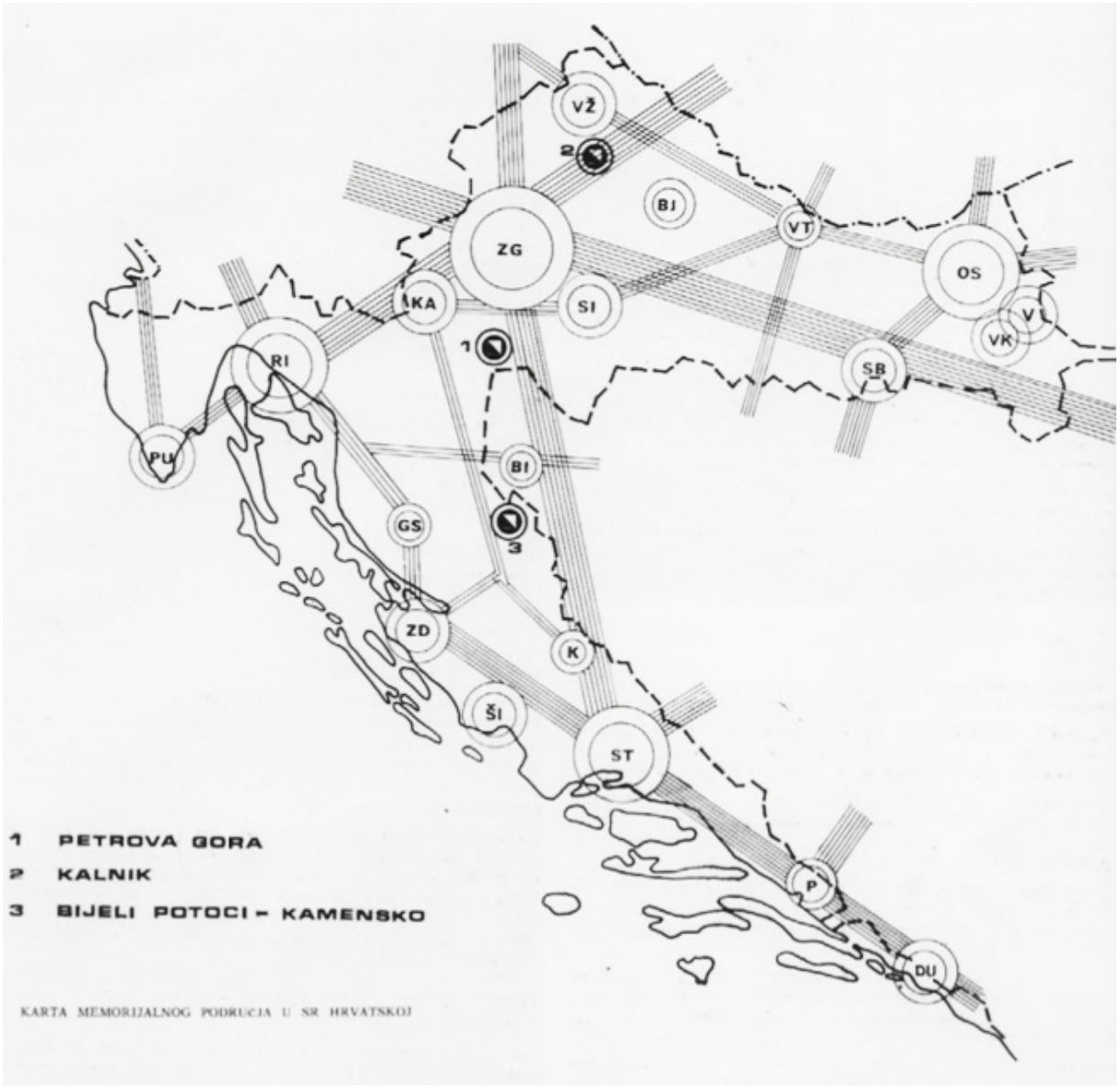
remote former battlegrounds, and urban cultural and regional centres, but also memorial paths that traced the kilometres of barbed wire fencing that had encircled an occupied city [Figure 2.10].

These monuments were not all commissioned centrally, nor were they distributed equally among the republics. Further, they did not uniformly benefit from centralised financing nor were they imagined and constructed according to an invariable criterion.[36] As remarked by Karge (2009), although this attests to a diversity of agency, it was not a fair exchange, for on the central Yugoslav side were key 'memory-makers,' such as the committee of The Association of the Veteran Organisations of the National Liberation War (SUBNOR) and the associated special board of the 'Committee for the Marking and Renovation of Historical Sites of the War of the People's Liberation.' The boards' primary activity lay in 'ensuring, paying tribute to, and developing further the traditions of the National Liberation War.' In terms of memory politics, the board represented 'the pan-Yugoslav memory think tank of the 1950s' with the financial capital at its disposal to determine the events and places that would become the all-Yugoslav *lieux de memoire* (Karge, 2015, 31:05). Their activities were of course politically and ideologically motivated and included the commissioning and financing of memorials as objects that were directly political in nature, constructed to praise the Socialist revolution and to uphold 'Brotherhood and Unity.' The search for an appropriate language of mourning and revolution did not result in a complete rupture from older patterns and themes, however, but it did introduce a period of memorial flux in which 'traditional' memorialisation overlapped with the new. The official war narrative of the ruling Communist Party was decidedly future oriented. Having successfully achieved liberation and a Socialist revolution, the country was bound for a new and better future. We will see this narrative reapplied in state-led memorialisation practices in the period of recovery and memory consolidation following the war in the 1990s.

Initially, the criteria for the official sites were restricted to those that possessed political ideological significance, that is to say, sites through which the Central Committee of the Communist Party and often Tito himself had physically passed during the war. This reflected the post-war leadership's intentions to immortalise its own political and military triumph. In other words, the logistical movement of the military and political leadership of the National Liberation Movement was the determinant factor for their qualification of battlefield landscapes as places and events to be honoured [Figure 2.11].

[36] The terms 'war memorials' and 'monuments' are often used synonymously and are here defined as monuments that have been built with the intention of commemorating the war and especially the war dead. Common commemorative texts on the monuments are to honour: 'Partisan Victims,' 'War victims,' and 'Victims of Fascist Terror.' Karge observes that Brotherhood and Unity, the 'intended essence and very nature of the official war narrative, had virtually no place in the remembrance practices of local communities, nor, of course, had it its intended central place in public communication, beyond centrally organised ritual.' (Karge, 2009, 53).

2.10 Avenue of birch trees on the Trail of Remembrance and Comradeship (*Pot spominov in tovarištva*) also known as ‘POT’ or ‘PST’ in the Rudnik District. Completed in 1985 the path traces the location of the barbed wire fence that encircled the city from 1942-1945: Ljubljana, Slovenia. Photo source: Žiga.



2.11 Traffic Routes and the localities of Memorial Areas in Croatia
1975: *Arhiteketura – Časopis za Arhitekturu, Urbanizam, Dizajn / za Primijenjenu umjetnost* 155, p. 21.

Their list of sites clearly defined a territorial hierarchy according to a politically motivated assessment of historical significance and of perceived correlation with the commemoration, protection, and management of authentic locations of Partisan war experience (Horvatinčić 2018). Landscapes that surpassed local significance were selected by SUBNOR to reflect the specificity of the Partisan war experience and Yugoslav socio-political aspirations. The individual qualities of landscapes were critical factors in the selection of sites for special treatment as 'memorial territories.'[37]

Memorial territories were not simply background for monuments. They were monuments themselves. Their selection meant that these extensive memorial complexes of mountainous, remote and difficult terrain were to benefit from centralised investment. They were identified not only as representatives of a heroic past, but as material generators of a Socialist future. Their protected status ensured they would be maintained for maximum pedagogical impact, and their master plans were coordinated with other government socio-economic programmes to maximise their development potential. Large memorial site projects like Sutjeska and Petrova Gora that combined a commemorative function with participation in commemorative rituals and recreational and touristic activities were proposed by the Institute for Economic Planning of the Socialist Federative Republic of Croatia. This ensured coordination with other sectors, including local agriculture, artisanal craft production, and most significantly, tourism.[38] As Horvatinčić (2018c) has argued, the memorial area model functioned as part of a complex system of memorial design and production in the Socialist period, and included the innovative strategies of declaring the specific experiences of the anti-Fascist and class struggles to be preconditions of a type of rural economic development based on the principles of a self-managed planned economy.

Capable of combining commemorative content with social amenities, memorial areas were a particularly appropriate response to the growing demand for utilitarian and socially beneficial 'living' memorials in Yugoslavia in the 1960s.[39] Ecological motives were also identified around the same period, and memorialisation projects such as these were combined with tree-planting and youth initiatives in the construction of 'green monuments' (Horvatinčić 2015). Memorial cemeteries designed as public parks included the peri-urban site of mass execution of thousands of Zagreb residents in Dotršćina (Josip and Silvana Seissel and Vojin Bakić, 1963-1968) [Figure 2.12] and the memorial graveyard of Dovarje near

[37] The term was used in Yugoslav regional planning discourse from the mid-1960s.
[38] The aim for memorial territory sites like Petrova Gora as described in the master plan guidelines is to: 'arrange the protected historical or natural site to be open for organized visit, state, and recreation, incorporating it into the continuity of modern living, which is why this area should also be enriched with new, attractive elements and activities, especially those relevant for tourism.' Ante Marinoivć Uzelac, 'Smjernice za uredajnu osnovu spomenpodručja Petrova gora,' *Arhitektura – časopis za arhiteckturu, urbanizam, dizajn I za primijenjenu umjetnost 155* (1975), 26. As noted and translated in Horvatinčić (2015, n59).
[39] In addition to commemorative parks with hybrid commemorative functions, schools, cultural centres and bridges were constructed.

2.12 Dotršćina Memorial Park, ‘Valley of the Graves’ (*Dolina Grobova*), ‘crystalline’ sculptures of polished stainless steel by Vojin Bakić installed in the 1980s to mark several mass graves sites found in the wooded valley after WWII. Project team also included Architect Josip Seissel, landscape architects Silvana Seissel and Angela Rotvić and poet Jure Kaštelan. Black granite cubes mark sites where remains of an individual or group of bodies were found: south-eastern slope of Mount Medvednica, Zagreb, Croatia. 8 December 2018.

Titovo Užice (1956) which the architect Ružica Ilić described as an example of 'green architecture.' Here, Ilić employs the symbolic power of nature to renew and regenerate, evoking the future as well as the past:

> In this pure space, we will build a 'living temple.' The walls of this living structure will consist of a tall pine forest, while its interior will be a green meadow in bloom; between the tall pine forest and the existing forest, we will leave a broad belt of green paths. In the centre of the present meadow, there will be a large stone plate with the names of the Partisans who rest here in a common grave. Some of the most beautiful trees will carry the names of the fallen soldiers, which will have a symbolic meaning, same as the living temple as a whole, namely that our memory of the dead grows and is renewed.[40]

A paradoxical relation emerges within the space of this 'living temple.' The organic, temporal, and transformational are all evoked and co-situated with the traditional commemorative idea of the everlasting and unchanging. By looking at the different performative practices, points of view, and modes of embodied engagement in these memorial landscapes, we see that the traditional emphasis on the past is inverted. To encounter monuments in these park landscapes means engaging with multiple spatiotemporal moments. Unlike Jasenovac and Donja Gradina, whose official monuments attempt to stabilise, isolate, and identify specific narratives of the past, the memorial territories of Sutjeska and Petrova Gora, and the monuments placed in them, were transformed with a particular agenda to facilitate select but plural experiences not only in reference to the Republic's past, but also to its future.

The Sutjeska Memorial Area

In October 1954, the special board identified the Tjentište area in southeast Bosnia as a site for a heroic Partisan memorial on a territorial scale [Figure 2.13].[41] The site's topographical situation was ideal: it is surrounded by mountains, with a deep gorge of primeval forest and river valley. It was also the site of a turning point in the anti-fascist resistance during the war, a month-long bloody military battle that occurred in 1943 when the Partisans (including Tito himself) survived near encirclement by more numerous and better equipped Axis and collaborationist coalition forces. The topography was militarised, as mountain and river aided the entrapment of the anti-Fascist forces and the open plain was the only escape route. Already in cultural circulation, through songs, school books and military atlases, the 'Battle of Sutjeska' (*Bitka na Sutjesci*) site served as an archetypal commemorative landscape, addressing a

[40] Bratislav Stojanović, *O spomen-parkovima: Spomengroblje u Titovom Užicu* [On memorial parks: Memorial cemetery in Titovo Užice], *Crvena Zvezda* (Jaunuary 31, 1956), 2. As translated and quoted in Horavatinčić (2015, 46-47).

[41] The Battle of Sutjeska Memorial Monument Complex in the Valley of Heroes that includes the Tjentište valley and Perućica primeval forest reserve is now in the Republicka Srpska, Bosnia and Hercegovina on the border with Montenegro. It is a transboundary protected area, hereafter called Sutjeska.

2.13 Fresco ‘Tito at Sutjeska’ (Artist: Krsto Hegedušić) in the Memorial House (*Spomen Dom*) (Architect: Ranko Radović)) 1971-1975 (original condition). In the 1980s and 1990s the frescos were damaged, vandalised and neglected, and were restored in 2019. Tjentište, (now in Republic of Srpska, Bosnia & Hercegovina).

temporal arc that would suit the promotion of the symbolic values of a nascent state [Figure 2.14]. Its scale could reflect the epic historic past, the presence nearby of the heroic war dead, and the aspirations of the country's revolutionary future. Compared with Jasenovac, a site identified by the victims and their families as a site of suffering, Sutjeska memorial park would be animated as a location of Partisan ideology, folklore and myth.[42]

The Sutjeska National Park covers 70,000 hectares, with seventy-nine commemorative sculptures and memorial and infrastructural architectural interventions, all constructed between 1958 and 1975. The first central monument was a stone altar set in an artificial mound in the Tjentište valley with a crypt below housing the remains of over three thousand fallen fighters (the deaths of the four thousand civilians involved was not marked there) [Figure 2.15]. At the inauguration in 1958 the leader of the 'Committee for the Marking and Renovation of Historical Sites of the War of People's Liberation' gave an address in which territoriality merged with symbolic value. The topography of the landscape, he said, itself served as a monument and he imbued its pictorial and scenic qualities with cultural meaning. The rhetoric shows that the Communist revolutionary project could be described as both latent and externally embedded in the landscape through the *longue durée* of traumatic events.[43]

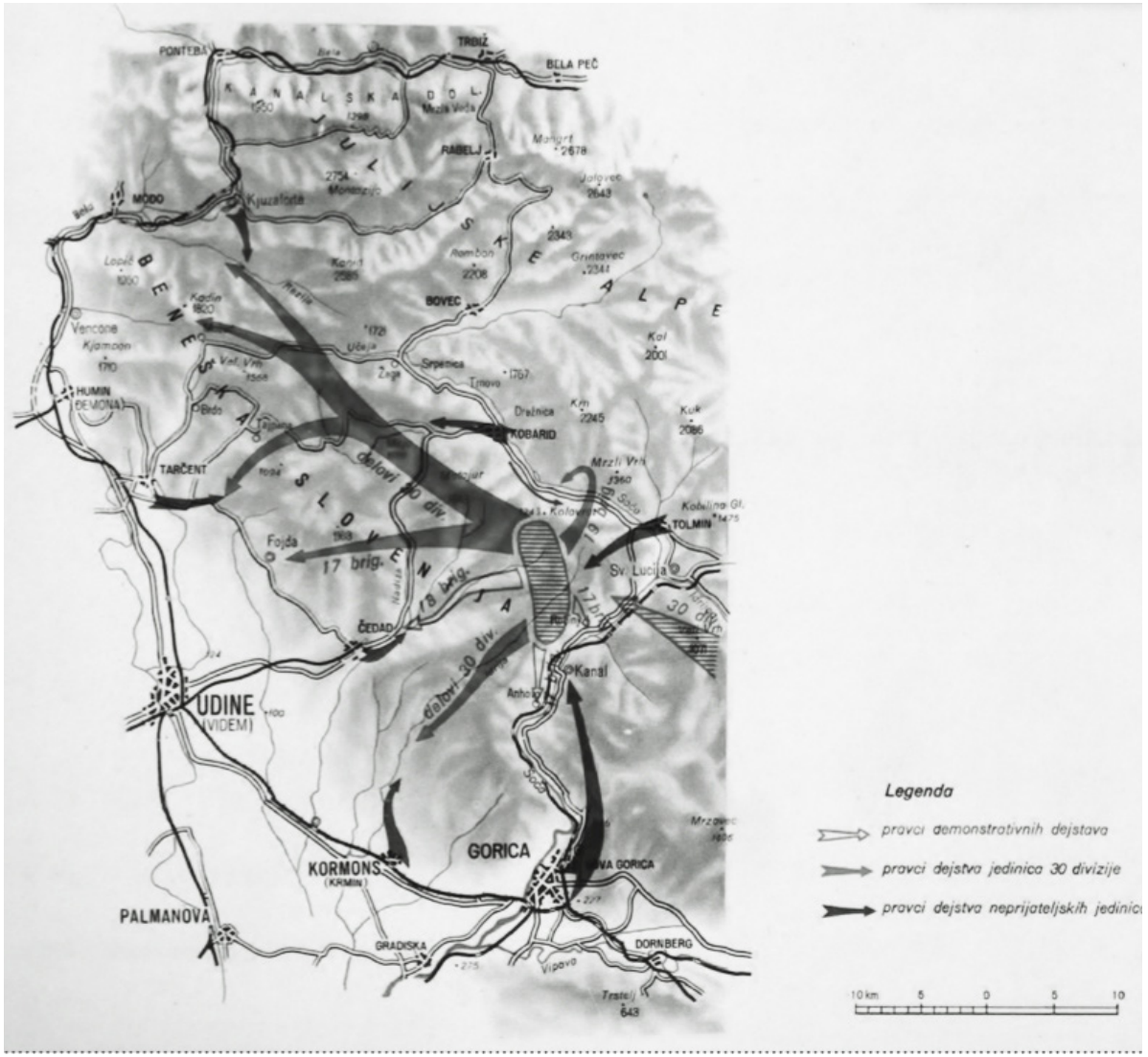
> All these territories surrounding Sutjeska, the villages, mountains, forests, meadows and rivers, keep and remind us of the most beautiful memories of the graves of fallen soldiers, the best sons of our people, and they are at the same time monuments to a glorious past, to a heroic epic, the struggle of our people, who, inspired by revolutionary spirit gained another important victory in the great National Liberation War. Therefore, Sutjeska has *grown into* a symbol of moral strength, of determination and of the materialisation of brotherhood and unity, this great achievement of our Revolution.[44]

The values of a Socialist Yugoslavia are thus represented as both emerging from the material landscape and merging into it. The landscape's twin value as material and iconographic resource became integrated with themes that the political elite wanted to lock in place in order to protect a view of the past, one that

[42] The concept of 'Partisan myth' was already in circulation and debated in Yugoslav social sciences in the 1970s. See publications of *Praxis International* the journal published by members of a philosophical circle active from 1964. For example, Antun Žvan, 'Ecstasy and Hangover of a Revolution,' *Praxis* 3-4 (1974). Members of the editorial board included Jurgen Habermas, Ernst Bloch, Erich Fromm, Henri Lefebvre, Àgnes Heller and Herbert Marcuse. Anti-Stalinist, cosmopolitan and dedicated to the adaptation of Marxism to the Yugoslav idea of self-management the group had often been in conflict with Tito's central party cultural-political policies. See also Widrich (2009, 205).

[43] Braudel (1969, 278) makes a distinction between the centuries of societal interaction with geography and the environment (the *longue durée*) and the immediate impact of events. See also David and Thomas eds. ([2008] 2016).

[44] Emphasis added. *Odbor za proslavu Bitke na Sutjesci*, ed., Sutjeska. *Jubilarni List povodom Petnaestogodisnjice Bitke na Sutjesci*. July 1-6, 1958. As cited and translated by Karge, (2009, 52-53).

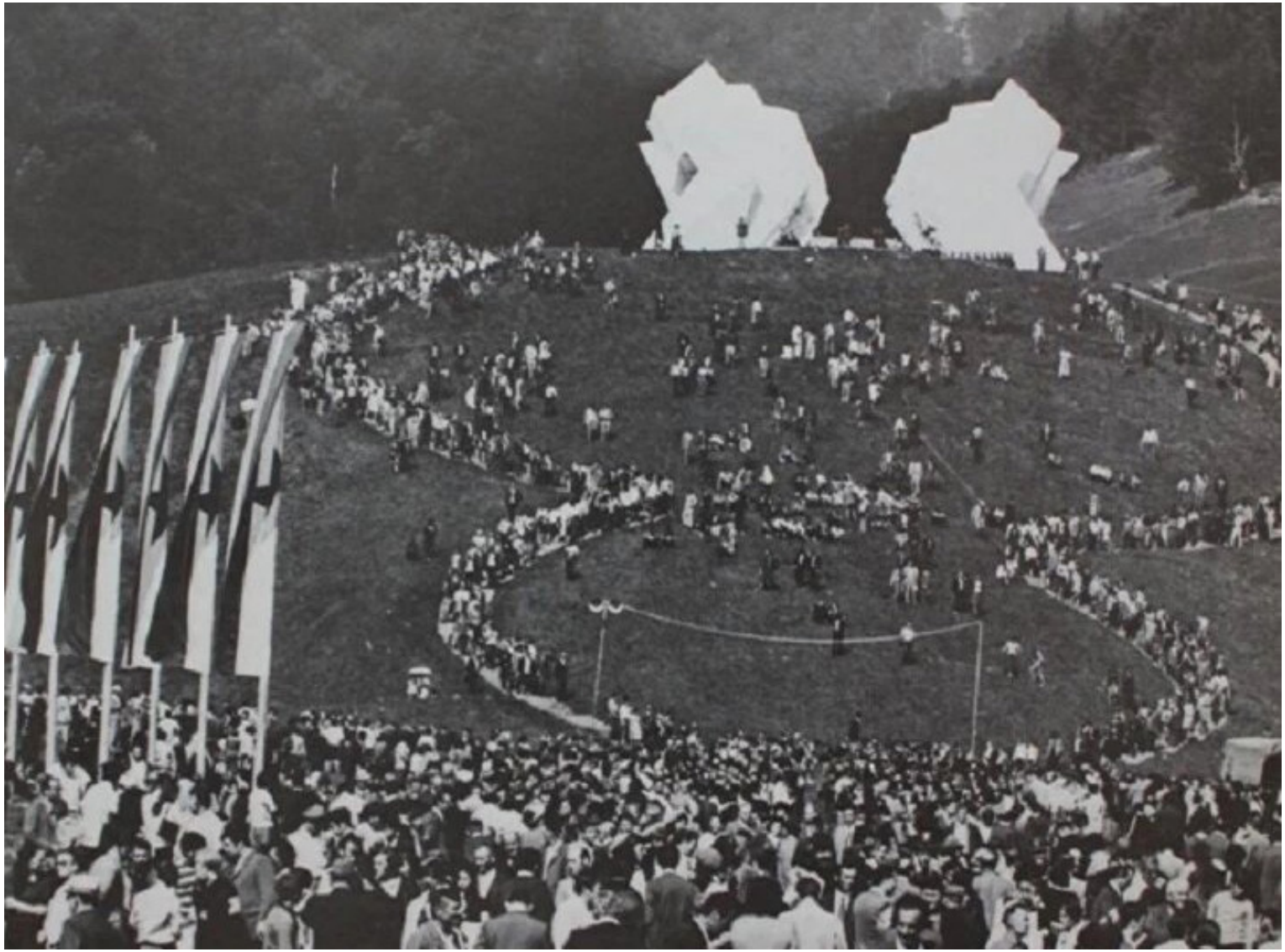


2.14 'Breakthrough of 30th division into Brda and Benčija' in Historical Atlas of the Yugoslav People's Liberation War: Institute of Military History of the Yugoslav People's Army, 1952, Belgrade. Photo source: Horvantičić (2015, 38).

2.15 The stone memorial altar to the Battle of Sutjeska (1958) with crypt beneath to mark the battle of Sutjeska: Tjentište, Republic of Srpska, Bosnia and Hercegovina. Photo source: Spomenik Database www.spomenikdatabase.org/tjentiste [accessed 15 January 2019].

would endure through the present and project into the future. Sutjeska is identified within the classic landscape definition as something material, perceived at a distance with a single gaze; yet it is the specificity of what was done by people in the landscape and the opportunities thus provided that offer some alternative interpretations. The Monument to the Battle of the Sutjeska constructed in 1971 near the village of Tjentište expressed this dialogic relationship most emphatically. Designed by Miodrag Živković at the site of the military breakthrough, it is approached from below, rising above the ossuary on a hill [Figures 2.16, 2.17 and 2.18]. It is composed of two monumental concrete forms, shattered and asymmetrical, collapsing inward but not touching; they form an artificial chasm. The bisection allows visitors to pass through and view the backdrop of mountains behind and the Memorial Centre below [Figure 2.19]. The configuration of the rocks alters dramatically as the viewer moves, with the carved upper faces visible when one looks up to the opposing wings of the monument. Here, the viewer is dwarfed and minimised by the crushing weight of stone, the density of the forest, and the encirclement by the mountain range.

2.16 The nineteen-meter-high concrete ‘wings’ of the fully federally financed Monument to the Battle of Sutjeska framing the Sniježnica mountain range, designed by Miodrag Živković (1971): Tjentište, Republic of Srpska, Bosnia and Hercegovina. Photo source: Spomenik Database www.spomenikdatabase.org/tjentiste [accessed 15 January 2019]. The wilderness of the parkland became a battle ground once more after 1990 and the memorials, which had numbered more than seventy across its 17500 hectares, were largely neglected. Today the Sutjeska park contains signs that warn of existing landmines from the wars of the 1990s, and the mound on which the second and more celebrated central memorial by the Belgrade sculptor Miodrag Živković was constructed suffered a natural landslide, threatening its destruction in February 2018. The landscape is thus unstable, both physically and symbolically.



2.17 Public celebration at the main monument at the Tjentište Spomenik complex (1970s): Photo source: Spomenik Database www.spomenikdatabase.org/tjentiste [accessed 16 January 2019].

2.18 ‘Valley of Heroes Monument’ *(Dolina Heroja)* to the Battle of the Sutjeska, (1964-72): Tjentište, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Photo source: Valentin Jeck, (View of the Monument, 2016) in *Toward a Concrete Utopia 1948 – 1980* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art New York 15 July 2018 – 13 January 2019.

2.19 Museum complex ‘Memorial House’ (*Spomen dom*) that contains the names of over 7000 fallen Partisan soldiers of the Battle of Sutjeska and also the frescoes of Krsto Hegedušić (1968-74), designed by Ranko Radović. Photo source: Spomenik Database www.spomenikdatabase.org/tjentiste [accessed 15 January 2019].

The landscapes of federal memorial projects like Sutjeska may be considered as performative landscapes in a number of respects. They were designed to express multiple social functions - commemorative, pedagogical, touristic - and although intrinsically entwined with issues of power and politics, they were distinctly intended for public participation. The memorial sites incorporate points of arrival and pathways for guided exploration in order to facilitate 'movement through' an imagined battlefield of forest, mountain, and valley in the imagined body of a Partisan fighter.[45] Maps and suggested routes or tours through the battlefield create 'landscapes within landscapes,' selected and edited versions of history designed for personal experience (Saunders 2011, 45) [Figures 2.20]. In their symbolic capacity, the sites themselves have become instrumental in rendering the state version of violent history present and credible. As these sites were protected and roads restricted, visitors were obliged to physically walk between the dispersed and remote sculptural memorials. Particular attention was paid to the opportunity this mode of engagement would allow for the post-war generation:

> While hiking with a backpack, that young man or woman had the best possibility of identifying with the Partisans and become one with them for a while. This is an emotional moment in understanding our struggle, as knowledge gained from books is not enough. This is a way to recreate the feeling of loyalty for one's people and the Partisan struggle against the enemy.[46]

To encourage active encounters of visitor, memorial, and memory, the material landscape was set to lie 'between' as the medium of exchange, with walking the mode of transmission. [Figure 2.21]. The experiential nature of the park was clearly intended to retrieve (and invent) social memory, thus naturalising the authority of the state (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) and supporting a sense of community identity (Halbwachs 1992). And yet, the landscape was envisioned not only as a battlefield, but a site of leisure, encouraging such activities as camping, concerts, youth events, and picnics (Pavlaković 2013, 375).

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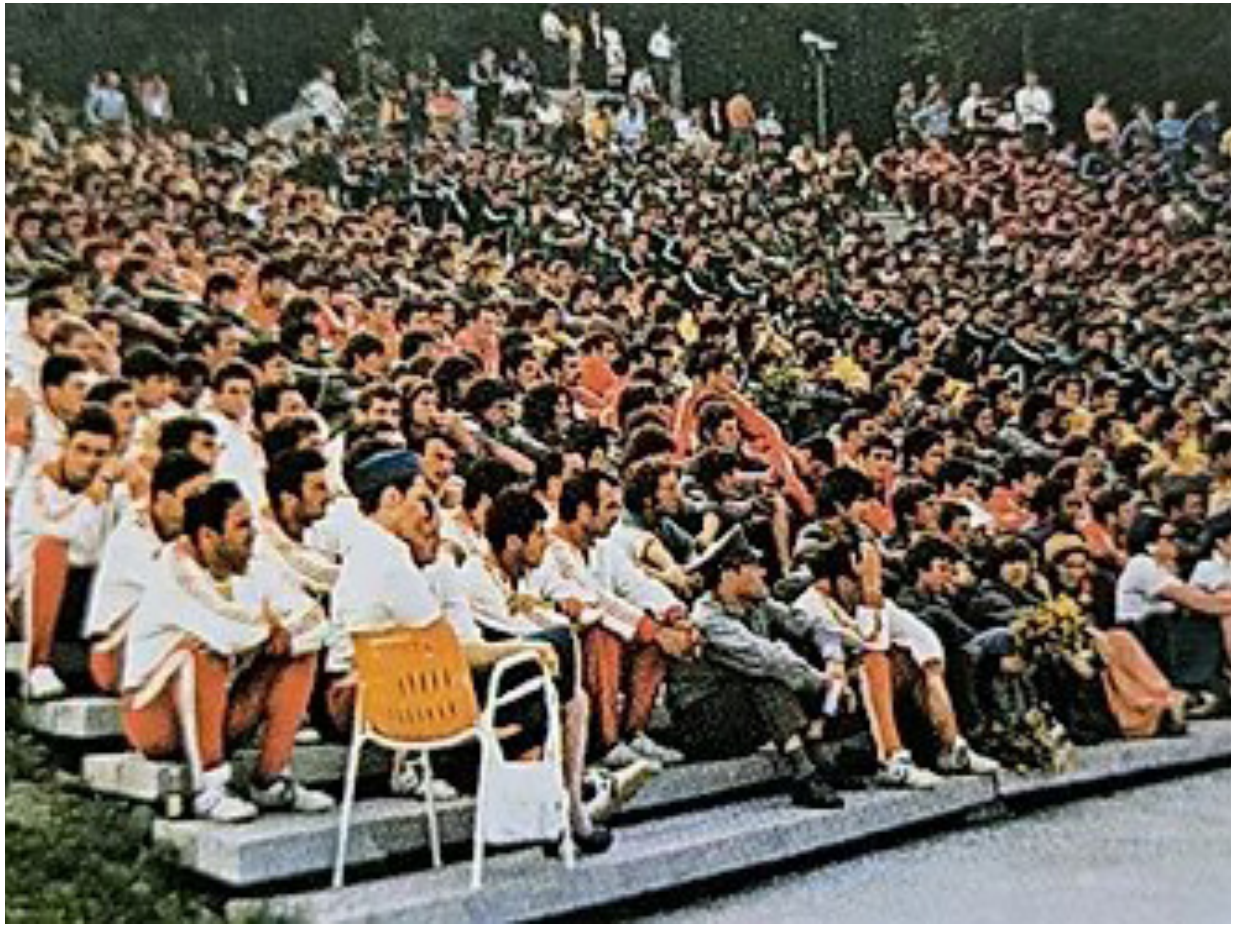
[45] In Mechtild Widrich's book *Performative Monuments: The Rematerialisation of Public Art* she argues that a number of post-unification commemorative projects in Germany, including Peter Eisenman's *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* in Berlin (2003) with designs based on 'misunderstandings of the postmodern turn away from master narratives and towards individualised experiences of history, as bodily affect and narrated memory,' which 'lead to politically ambiguous results in the most ambitious commemorative project' (2009, 169). It is interesting to note that a strategy of viewer assimilation was practiced in the Memorial Areas of post-war Yugoslavia, and in Sutjeska specifically, and the potentially problematic identification between self and history that Widrich identifies is also instigated. However, there is a critical difference in that the dynamic relations among performance, encounter, monument, and material object she draws attention to in this case is not taking place in urban space.

[46] Horvatinčić (2015, 56) attributes this pedagogical method to activities that SUBNOR organized as part of the programme *Cultivating the Revolutionary Traditions*. This reference refers to youth participation at the Kalnik memorial park in 1963. *Tragovima partizana. Prvomajska tradicionalna akcija izvidača u Hrvatskoj 'Klnik 1963'* [*On partisan trail: Traditional scout action 'Kalnik 1963', Četvrti jul* (April 30, 1963), 2]. As cited and translated in Horvatinčić (2015, 56).

2.20 1980s Yugoslav-era tourist map for Sutjeska National Park. Photo source: Spomenik Database www.spomenikdatabase.org/tjentiste [accessed 17 January 2019].



2.21 Gathering for a youth event at the Kozara amphitheater (ca. 1970): Spomenik Database www.spomenikdatabase.org/Kozara [accessed 17 January 2019].

Sutjeska and other 'memorial areas' not only served to glorify the past and commemorate fallen resistance fighters and civilians, but were also designed as ceremonial spaces to transmit the uniqueness of the Yugoslav experience of the war and of its current state and social order (Vojak, Tomić and Kovačev 2019). In a wider geographic sense, these memorial parks were designed as tools by which disparate local memorial activities could be linked together. The seventeen memorial areas identified (and sanctioned) in a 1981 (re)categorisation undertaken by the Croatian government and the Croatian Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments (*Zavod za zaštitu spomenika*) came to cover a large part of the territory of Croatia. Their formation was to support the development of 'political-ideological,' 'cultural-artistic,' and 'sport-recreational' activities across localities.[47] They were framed and promoted as 'tools for introducing a certain amount of order into remembrance' across scattered local activities, while simultaneously transmitting key ideological messages to the younger generation (Vojak, Tomič and Kovačev 2019, 131). These landscapes came to mediate ideological messages, multiple social spaces and temporalities. Its spaces were marked as thresholds to a past while simultaneously being given special status to create opportunities for groups to engage with its present materiality in different ways.

In altering the conceptual engagement with a landscape by calling it a 'memorial area,' the state disengaged it from the more traditional idea of a memorial as a static object or scene for ideological instruction. We see bodies move through, not just a series of battlefields, but overlapping and plural landscapes (Saunders 2001). The ways in which the landscape is encountered and the time in which that encounter takes place affects how a landscape is experienced and understood, whether as violent memory, scenery, territorial prize, or imagined future (Macpherson 2016, Edensor 2010), or all of these simultaneously. The embodied geographies of experience render the place of the memorial park inter-relational, permeable to a matrix of narratives from other places and other times (Tilley 1994a). As a product of embodied and imaginative practices, it becomes a place for the simultaneity of 'stories-so-far' (Massey 2005) within the wider power-geometries of the thousands of state-sponsored heritage projects across Yugoslavia. Implicated in a network of other socio-political landscapes including cemeteries, museums, and commemorative centres, and subject to a commemorative calendar of memorial events, the landscape of a memorial park, even if returned to again and again, is never the same: 'time moves on' and the site is physically altered through seasonal cycles of renewal and decay and thus it remains open to continuous re-evaluation and re-interpretation (Bender 2002a, *S*103).

[47] HDA, HR-HAD-1081, Sabor SRH, Saziv 1978-1982, *Odbori I komisije Sabora*, box 1409, no. 17/6199, 190, '*Sambor -spomen-podrucje '7 Sekretara SKOJ-a*.' See: Vojak, Tomič and Kovačev (2019, n.49).

The Petrova Gora Memorial Area

The memorial area of Petrova Gora is a forested national park which spans two Croatia counties, Karlovac and Sisak-Moslavina. It consists of more than seventy structures and monuments marking battlefields, graveyards of soldiers and civilians, sites of massacres, Partisan headquarters, sites of military and revolutionary events, barracks, a clandestine bakery, a tannery, a blacksmith shop, and a partially subterranean military hospital complex [Figure 2.22]. The most iconic element is the Monument to the Uprising of the People of Kordun and Banija (*Spomenic ustanku naroda Banije i Korduna*) designed by Vojin Bakić and Berislav Šerbetić in 1971 and completed ten years later [Figure 2.23]. The monument was dedicated to the peasant uprising and to those who died fighting the Ustaše militia in the Petrova Gora mountains early in the Second World War. It is a series of four stacked 'sliced segments' of undulating form and relatively equal mass, covered in curved aluminium plates. The twelve interior levels rise to thirty-seven meters on Mali Petrovac, the highest summit in the Petrova Gora mountain range [Figure 2.24 and 2.25]. The placement of secular and religious objects on raised elevations as geographic, strategic or symbolic markers is an ancient practice across cultures (Della Dora 2016). The ideological motivation for positioning war memorials in this way, however, reflects a political practice of imposing memory on distinct landscapes, inscribing them with intended and unintended meanings, entangling the nascent myths of a nation with traumatic human experience.

Built to hold and allow for the circulation of large numbers of people, the monument was designed to contain a convention hall (on the lower ground), library and reading room, café, and museum [Figure 2.26], with visitors encouraged to ascend the pathways, steps, and ramps of the memorial complex to arrive at a roof-top viewing platform. This inhabitable monument accentuates the once strategic vantage point and allows a complete panoramic view of the battlefield landscape [Figure 2.27]. Although equipped for many programmes, its placement is both symbolic and functional. The alignment of the landscape with the People's Liberation Struggle had been made explicit in the competition specifications, which required memory to be fused with the mountain and wider territory.[48] Educational and tourist materials available to visitors at the park also reflect this synthesis, the landscape being portrayed as enhanced by its anti-Fascist past.

[48] *Memorijalni park Petrova gora* [Memorial Park Petrova Mount], 3rd revised edition, Mile Dakić and Božo Vukobratović eds. (Zagreb: Turiskomerc, 1982), 12-64. See also Horvatinčić (2015, n.30). The project description begins with the statement: 'The wish to preserve memory has made us construct this monument on top of the mountain as a symbol of the entire area.' Ibid. n.28.


Petrova gora
Gvozd
Blatale
Vojnić
Vojnička
Radonja
Kupinsko
Kupinečki
Stakorovica
Gojkovac
Kamanja
Kupinec
Mala Petrova
Velika Petrova
Perna
Perka
Mlinska
Kupinska
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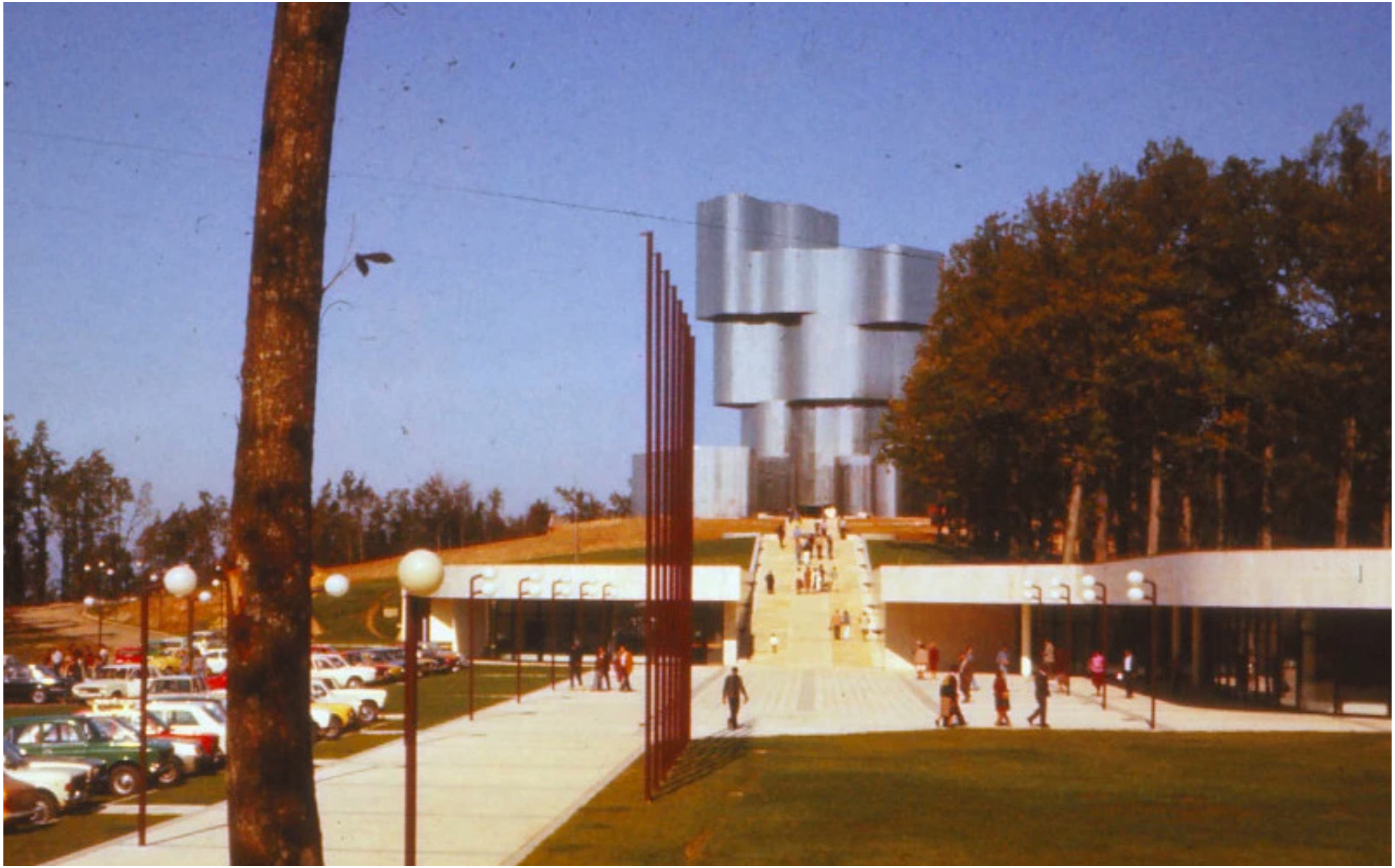
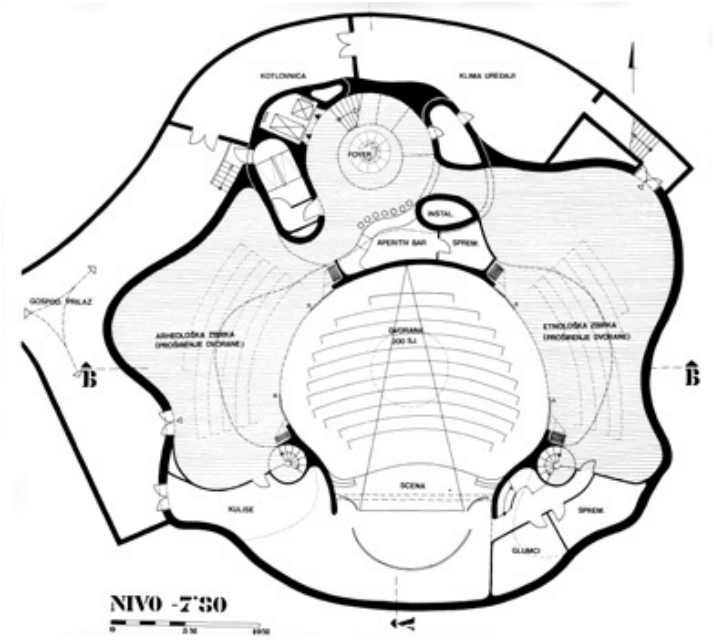
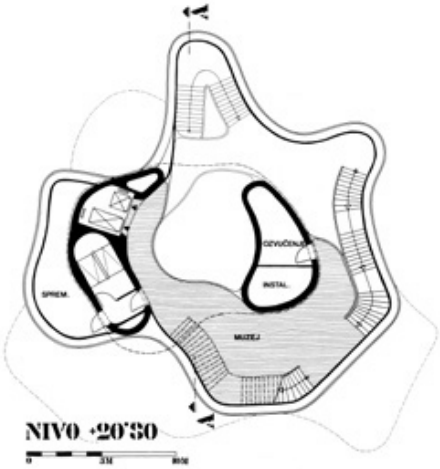
2.23 Monument to the uprising of the People of Kordun and Banija (*Spomenik ustanku naroda Banije I Korduna*) designed by Vojin Bakić (1981): Petrova Gora National Park, Croatia. Photo source: Ješa Denegri, 'The Sculptural and Architectural in Organic Unity' (*Skulptorsko i arhitektonsko u organskom jedinstvu*), *Oris* no. 77 (2012) p.132-133.

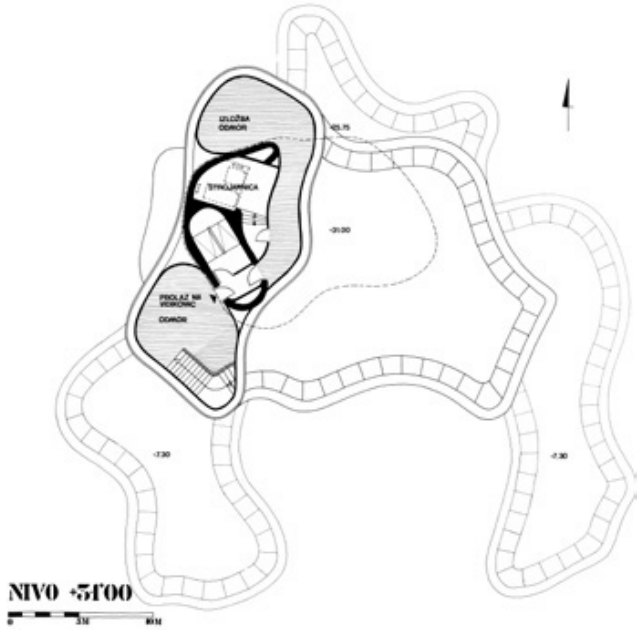


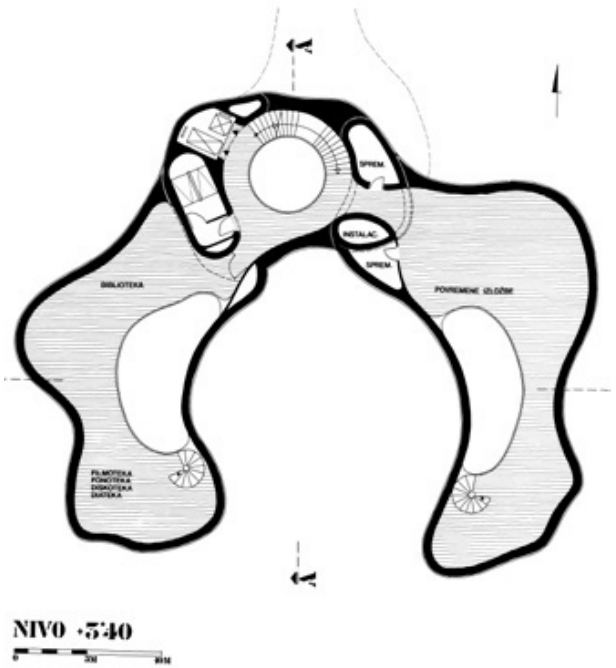
2.24 View of Petrova Gora *Spomenik* ca. 1970: Spomenik Database www.spomenikdatabase.org/tjentiste [accessed 17 January 2019].

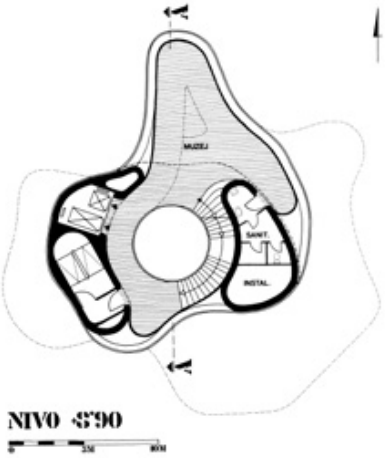
2.25 Monument to the uprising of the People of Kordun and Banija (Spomenik ustanku naroda Banije I Korduna) on the Petrova Gora Mountain: Petrova Gora National Park, Croatia.
Photo source: Wolfgang Thaler, 'The Sculptural and Architectural in Organic Unity' (*Skulptorsko i arhitektonsko u organskom jedinstvu*), *Oris* no. 77 (2012) p.125.



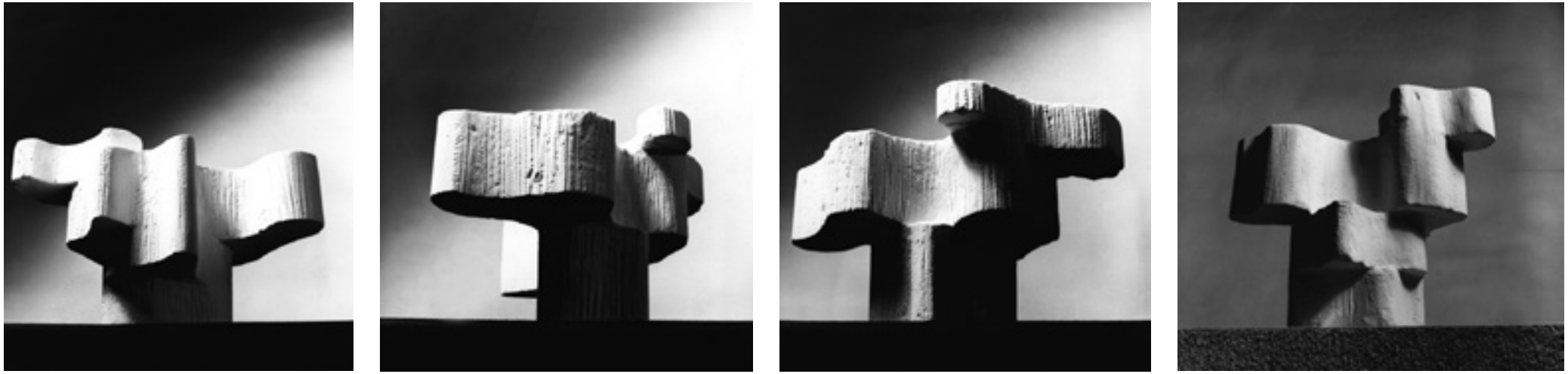




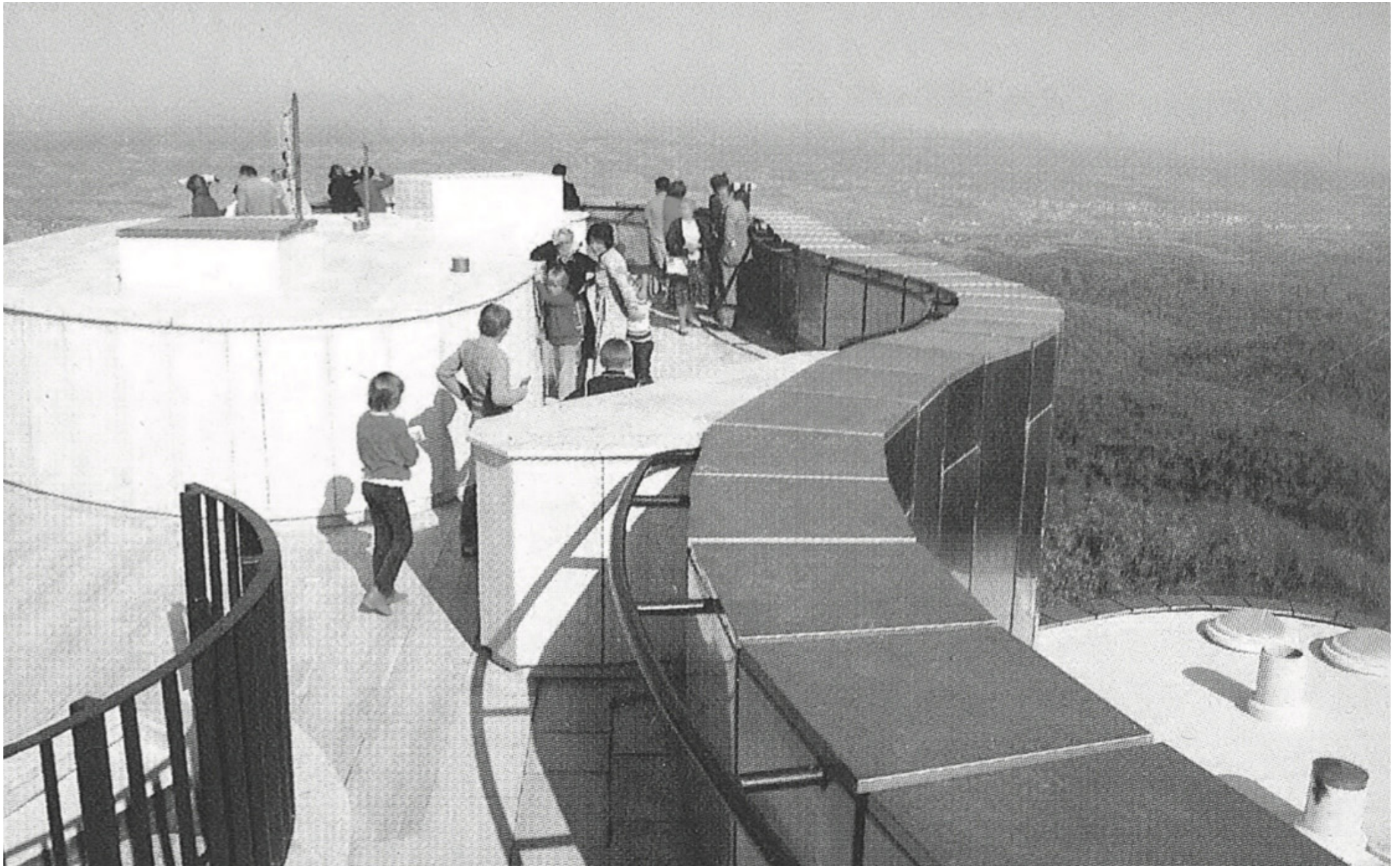




2.26a Vojin Bakić plans for Petrova Gora Memorial: Plan source: *The Petrova Gora Memorial Project*, Institute of Architectural Design, The Faculty of Architecture, University of Zagreb, 1981.



2.26b Petrova Gora Memorial models by Vojin Bakić:
Photos by: Sudac / Nenad Gattin.



2.27 Viewing platform on Petrova Mount 1986: Petrova Gora Memorial Park, Karlovac County. Photo: Mile Dakić 'Monuments to the People's Liberation Struggle and the Revolution: The Region of Karlovac' (*Spomenici NOR-A/Revolucije: Na Području zajednica Općina Karlovac*).

The site and the inhabited memorial object combine to produce a 'sight-seeing' device that can both be easily seen from afar and grant a faraway view [Figure 2.28 and 2.29].[49]

Other monumental viewing platforms in Socialist era national memorial parks contain narrative supports in order to encourage viewers to 'read' the landscape as that of a historical battle. Sculptors, architects and artists have used concrete (Makljen, 1978), bronze-relief plates (Avala, 1965), pastoral murals (Sutjeska, 1971), and mosaics (Dražgoše, 1976) to align the narrative representation with a chronology of violent events and with the physical landscape [Figures 2.30 to 2.33].[50] Citing such examples of 'morphological traditions in spatial marking,' Horvatinčić, in associating these artistic works with the construction and transferral of collective war memory and with the intention to establish a closer link between the specific site of the monument and the 'signified' territory, proposes that they offer visitors an opportunity to experience the memorial landscape 'more directly and more emotionally' (Horvatinčić 2015, 44). In her reading, the official monument, its narrative accessories, the mountain, and the territory are fused in the act of perceiving. Other readings are possible; however, such a commanding view could also engender distance rather than directness, abstraction rather than synthesis, proprietorship rather than community. To look 'out over' a landscape is to perceive it as a cultural image (Daniels and Cosgrove 1988, 11), a disconnected if not dematerialised view characteristic of scenic systems of representation that separate observer from observed. Rather than fusing the body of the visitor and the materiality of the landscape, representations such as these narrative supports as well as postcard and other ephemera exist 'between' [Figure 2.34a and 2.34b]. Indeed, their intermediary presence potentially transforms the ways in which people know and experience these physical landscapes. The texts and imagery are selective, partial, and highly ideological ways of seeing and knowing, and as such they themselves may begin to constitute and structure encounters and experiences of the material landscape.

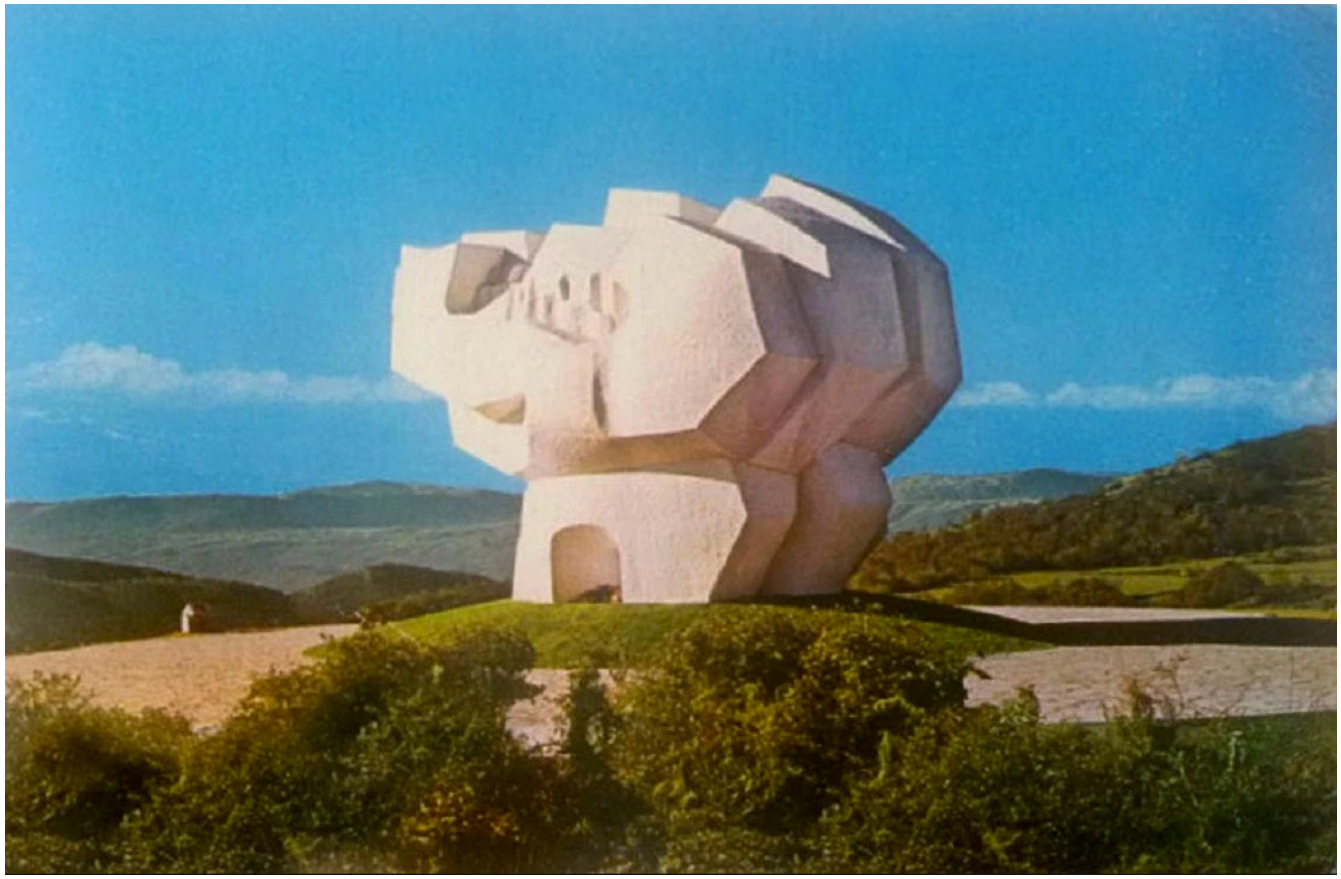
[49] This viewing position was also employed in urban peripheral memorial areas, for example, the Partisan cemetery in Mostar, Bosnia Herzegovina on the slope of Bijeli Brijeg, designed by Bogdanović (1960-1965) and inaugurated by Tito in 1965. In a speech given by Tito, he refers to the trilogy of the topography, the architecture representative of his modernist ambitions, and victimhood as comprehensible in a single gaze: 'In many countries I have visited, I have laid wreaths at many monuments. But such beautiful and magnificent monument as this one here, I have never seen…From the hill on which the memorial stands, I watched today many new buildings and tall skyscrapers. I have experienced it all as a harmonious whole: on one side, the magnificent memorial to the fallen victims, on the other, below, the new modern quarters of the city. How beautifully it all complements each other, intertwines, and comes together.' As quoted in Mrduljaś and Kluić (2012, 55).

[50] The panoramic platform was used by other architects for memorials of the same period including the sculptural-architectural monuments of: the *Monument of Gratitude to the Red Army* (1947) in Batina, north eastern Slavonia; the *Memorial dedicated to 213 Fallen Soldiers, 82 Hostages, and 20 Prisoners from Gorica Mountains and Slovenska Benčija* in western Slovenia by the architect Marko Šlajmer and sculptor Janez Boljka (1961); the *Memorial to the Battle of Dražgoše* Doris Kobe, Stojan Batić and Ive Śubic (1976).

2.28 An example of a viewing aid on Memorial to the Battle of Dražgoše, designed by Boris Kobe, Stojan Batič, and Ive Šubic, 1976: Dražgoše Gorenjska Region, Slovenia. Photo: Paolo Mofardin. Photo collection of the Institute of Art History Zagreb, 2012.

2.29 Detail of the viewing aid on the Memorial to the Battle of Dražgoše: Spomenik Database. Retrieved from www.spomenikdatabase.org/drazgose [accessed 15 June 2019].

2.30a Use of reinforced concrete on Mt. Makljen, ‘Poet’ (*Pjesnik*) or ‘the Fist’ (*Pesnica*) or the ‘Monument to the Battle of the Wounded’ designed by Boško Kućanski (1978): Makljen, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Retrieved from www. spomenikdatabase.org/makljen [accessed 15 June 2019].



2.30b Makljen Monument post 1990s conflict: Makljen, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Spomenik Database. Retrieved from www.spomenikdatabase.org/makljen [accessed 15 June 2019].

2.31 Use of bronze on Mt. Avala ‘Soviet War Veterans Monument (*Spomenik sovjetskim ratnim veteranima*) designed by Jovan Kratohvil (1965): Near Pinosava village, Serbia. Museum of the History of Yugoslavia (MIJ), Belgrade, Photo collection: 1970_430_091.

2.32 Use of pastoral murals in the Spomen Dom at Sutjeska, ‘Sutjeska – Bloody River,’ artist: Krsto Hegedušić (1971) (condition before recent restoration). Spomenik Database. Retrieved from www.spomenikdatabase.org/sutjeska [accessed 15 June 2019].

2.33a Sightseeing at the monument in Dražgoše' President Tito and his wife Jovanka Broz visit the mosaic by Slovenian artist Ive Šubic dedicated to the Cankar battalion in the 1942 battle of Dražgoše, Slovenia. Photo source: Museum of the History of Yugoslavia (MIJ), Belgrade. Photo collection: 1976_645_017.

2.33b Monument Cankar Battalion in Dražgoše (1976), (*Spomenik Cankarjevega bataljona v Dražgošah*) design team Boris Kobe, Stojan Batič and artist Ive Šubic: Dražgoše, Slovenia. Photo: Paolo Mofardin. Photo-collection of the Institute of Art History Zagreb.

2.34a Petrova Gora Postcard with view of the main tower and memorial complex (ca. 1980): Spomenik Database. Retrieved from www.spomenikdatabase.org/petrovagora [accessed 15 June 2019].

2.34b Postcard of the monument at Kozara ca. 1970s. Retrieved from www.spomenikdatabase.org/kozara [accessed 15 June 2019].

The military histories of the landscapes of Petrova Gora and Sutjeska both appear in the military atlases used in schools and in popular culture representations across the federation [Figures 2.35 to 2.37], and Partisan songs used landscape representations that emphasised their supporting role in the Yugoslav Partisan struggle.[51] This 'paper landscape' (Saunders 2001, 41) would be familiar to memorial park visitors. It would, however, represent a radically different knowledge than that gained by the embodied sense of peering into the foxhole of an underground bunker, feeling the coolness of a metal bedframe, or experiencing the low ceiling of a clandestine hospital. These memorial places were intended both to provoke individuals to experience history and to school them historically. The military maps show the arc of an arrow for troop movement, the cross mark of a landmine, and radio terminals and targets imposed on the cartographic green denoting forest. The ordered geography of the maps and the optical-visual logic of a view from above conceal knowledge of the ground and the bodily connections with the topography of battle space that one could obtain through physical presence. These are knowledges constructed by what Derek Gregory terms 'corpography': a profoundly haptic or somatic geography that comprehends battle space through the body 'as an acutely physical field of sound, smell and touch' (Gregory 2014, 3). The view from the tower of Petrova Gora necessarily separates the viewer from the 'materially grounded messiness' (Tilley and Cameron-Daum 2017) of what lies below as a site of historical violence.

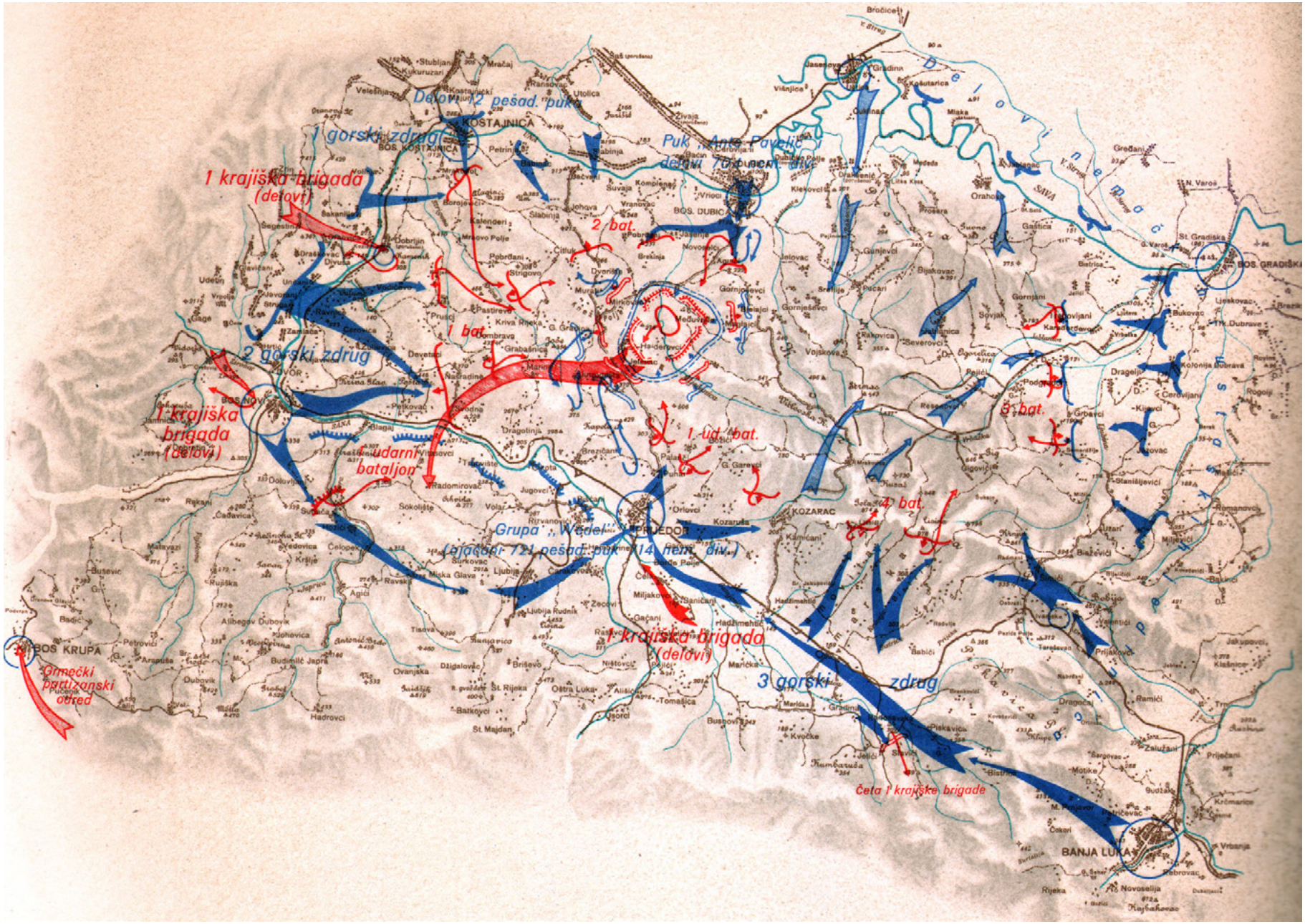
The memorial parklands of Petrova Gora and Sutjeska were designed to be experienced from both above and below, creating tensions and opportunities for post-war narrative communication. The architect Fedor Wenzler, writing in the journal *Arhitektura* (1975), articulated the concept and challenge of memorial sites to communicate both the 'illusion' of the past (and presumably its violence) on an intimate scale and the (rather more abstract) value of freedom on a territorial scale:

> That fundamental message (right to freedom and the struggle to preserve or achieve that freedom) has a number of modalities and their transfer to the future generations is also the hardest task for the planners, architects, and historians. […] Memorial sites are primarily characterised by a dynamic experience of space, with a series of individual memorial localities situated in an authentic setting. Making it possible for the visitors to experience that dynamics of the memorial site as a whole, as well as in all its specificities, creating an illusion of the past without imitating the former physical structures, that is the most important and also the most difficult task of landscape planning.[52]

[51] Musicologist Srñan Atanasovski (2015) argues that after the Second World War specific strategies were employed by the Communist Party to legitimise the unity of the recovered territory of SFRY. Partisan songs built on new landscape images, which largely drew their iconography from liberation war narratives. Partisan songs used landscape representations that emphasised their supporting role in the Yugoslav Partisan struggle. Partisan songbooks were printed, choirs established, and their songs were incorporated into elementary school curricula, all with embedded images of the new territorial unity.

[52] In 1965 Fedor Wenzler and Radovan Miščević were the two Croatian planners selected to work with Kenzo Tange on the reconstruction plan for the city centre of Skopje Macedonia after an earthquake in 1963.

2.35 Petrova Gora General Master Plan 1975: *Arhitektura – Čapospis za Arhitekturu urbanizam, dizajni / za primijenjenu umjetnost* 155, p.27.



2.36 'Enemy Offensive at Kozara, (10 June-16 July 1942)', note the encirclement of the Partisan forces: JNA Geographic Institute - Historical Atlas of the Liberation War of the People of Yugoslavia, 1st edn. JNA Military Institute, Belgrade, 1952.

2.37 Yugoslav 'tourist' road map to visit Monuments to the Revolution (*Spomenici Revolucije*), 1986. Key monuments are marked with a drawing while others are marked simply with a red star. The legend below left has been translated, below right. Retrieved from: www.spomenikdatabase.org/1986-map, courtesy of Jan Kampanaers [accessed: 15 June 2019].

The memorial areas of Sutjeska and Petrova Gora are landscapes in which different temporal rhythms, past and present, absence and presence, are negotiated and held in a state of tension. While it is not uncommon to conceptualise the landscape as a record of unfolding human activities over time, it is in this complex processual sense that it also resists any settled status.

The relationship of natural landscapes to their memorial ascriptions involves the dynamic procedures of remembering and forgetting, along with the production of counter-memories regarding a violent past in the present. By paying close attention to the material aspects of landscapes where violence and suffering took place, the mnemonic agency of landscape is framed in relation to the agency of symbolic forms, the narrative strategies, and the material practices of diverse actors. Thus far, this chapter has considered the role of the agents of the Socialist federal state, as well as local and regional actors. The following section considers the complex role of the dead in the construction of narratives of past violence, traced through the observances and commemorative events taking place at massacre sites that had been silenced in Tito's Yugoslavia.[53]

2.4 Landscape and the Dead

Following the defeat of the Fascist occupiers and the fall of the collaborating Independent State of Croatia (ISC), founded with the support of Germany and Italy, in April 1941, a 'second Yugoslavia' was established in 1945 under President Tito (Lampe 2000 [1996]). Tito government policy attempted to suppress the public memory of Ustaše crimes committed under the ISC against (mostly) Serbs, but also the Jewish and Roma populations, with brutal killings and retributions committed by the Partisans and Četnik resistance. It was the policy of the Socialist Yugoslavia 'to suppress reminders of that vicious interethnic conflict, in the interests of a multiethnic state' (Denich 1994, 367).[54] The Socialist federation under Tito was designed to manage nationalities, minority issues, and irredentism within Yugoslavia even after the break with Moscow in 1948. The official, 'mythical' narrative of multi-ethnic 'Brotherhood and Unity' federalism was intended to redirect the more extreme Croatian and Serbian demands for independence and for ethnically defined territorial consolidation. To prevent any interpretive ambiguity, events of World War II were reduced to the mythic archetypes of shared victimhood and victory,

[53] Yugoslav historiography and popular representations of history after 1980 have focused on claims that wartime crimes of the NDH, including the concentration camp at Jasenovac and Ustaša persecution of Serbs were deliberately silenced, misrepresented and down-scaled for politically motivated reasons in official representations of the war (Denich 1994; Hayden 1994; Bracewell 1993). Sindbaeck (2012, 19) argues that although the history of the internal Yugoslav massacres of the Second World War was certainly 'constrained' in the early post-war period it was neither ignored, nor silenced. She contends that the actions were not defined as genocide, and although the wordings, perspective and emphasis were different, the events were 'present' in Yugoslav culture and historical writing.

[54] Here, public memory is used to mean memories that are made, experienced, and circulated in public spaces and are intended to be communicated and shared (Opp and Walsh 2010, 9).

rendering collective memory 'ahistorical' (Fierke 2010, 116; Müller 2009, 23) as Communist authorities strove to form new collective memories to unite all Yugoslavs around a common historical narrative (Vojak, Tomić and Kovačev 2019). The simplification was to reduce the risk of renewed tensions between the once conflicting parties who had not only survived the Axis occupation but the internal wars of aggression. These internal conflicts had been pursued by the mainly Croatian ISC Ustaša against the mainly Serb population of Croatia and Bosnia (who at times responded in kind) and included the conflict between the two organised resistance movements of the predominately Serb Četniks and Communist Partisans (Malcolm 2002, 174).[55] The experience of the multisided internal ethnic civil wars during WWII was concealed:

> As Communist rule entailed ideological control over the representation of the past, those horrifying events that would disrupt interethnic cooperation were not to be mentioned, except in collective categories, all 'victims of fascism' on one side, and all 'foreign occupiers and domestic traitors' on the other side. (Denich 1994, 370).[56]

The revisionist myth of all Yugoslavs as victors against fascism irrespective of ethnicity or their role in the Second World War was created alongside the myth of Tito himself as a 'creator and saviour' and 'defender of truth' (Perica 2002, 103; Palmberger 2016, 2006; Ramet 1992). The war crimes attributed to the Partisans were downplayed for the sake of regional peace and renewed prosperity, both domestically and abroad (Malcolm 2002; Lampe 2000 [1996]; Goldstein 1999). Conflict over political memory was too great a risk to the stability of the nascent Communist view of itself as a federation or its relationships with its significant international others (Subotić 2018, 298).[57] As has been consistently argued, the project of political memory is not about the past, other than to control it in order to support and maintain a particular conception of the present. Official social memory then, requires selective forgetting of inconvenient historical events as much as selective remembering. The taboo that silenced the public awareness and experience of the 250,000 people who vanished through Tito's detention camps, death marches, and mass shootings between 1945-46 (Palmberger 2016, 57) is a salient example.

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[55] Mila Dragojević and Vjeran Pavlaković (2012, 4-5) argue that the Second World war was not a clear-cut struggle between the NDH and foreign occupiers and a revolutionary guerrilla movement, but rather a multisided civil war.

[56] This was common within the USSR, East Germany, Poland and most Socialist regimes in central and eastern Europe where inter-ethnic conflict was significant. As a multi-ethnic state, Yugoslavia was distinct (compared to the now homogeneous Poland), however, the political use of history may be particularly evident in post-Socialist countries, and it cannot be seen as an exclusively Eastern European phenomenon as political use of the past can be found in Europe and worldwide. See the works of Tatiana Zhurzhenko and Friederike Kind-Kovács in the special issue L. Oates-Indruchová and M. Blaive, "Border Communities: Microstudies on Everyday Life, Politics and Memory in European Societies from 1945 to the Present," Nationalities Papers 42, no.2 (2014).

[57] Indeed, Palmberger (2016, 529) argues that Tito's self-legitimizing myth was not only supported domestically by Communists, but internationally: 'Tito was often credited for having brought peace and reconciliation to the region. Thus, his admirers closed their eyes to Tito's aspirations for power and the war crimes he and his followers committed at the end of World War II.'

As Assmann and others have argued, however, official mnemonic discourses are not 'seamless,' and the dominant national narrative is always contested (Ashplant et al. 2000, 16). This is so even in the case of the Socialist Yugoslavia, where the media were state subsidised (Ramet 1992b) and could control the appearance of events both past and present. Repressive silences contain within them the potential to be revealed, and so it transpired that following Tito's death in 1980 the past would not simply be erased, but would rather be set aside, as Paul Ricoeur proposed, to become *oubli de reserve*, and a new political regime would opportunistically repurpose and re-introduce social memories that had been silenced by the previous regime (Ricoeur 2004).[58] An example of this memory latency are the annual commemorations, held since 1991, that mark the massacre of various anti-Partisan prisoners of war (Slovene home guards, Fascist Ustaša as well as Serb and Muslim Četniks) in 1945 at Bleiburg in Allied-controlled Austria. Mention of this event was rendered taboo under Communist rule, only to resurface in the media and political discourse leading up to the war in the 1990s (Pavlowitch 1992; Lampe 2000 [1996]; Malcolm 2002; Banjeglav 2012, 109). As a consequence of limited research of this crime, and the complete silence that covered it during communism, the narrative of the massacred Ustaša POWs at Bleiburg has been replaced with the larger narrative of ethnic Croatian suffering' (Subotić 2018, 306). In Ivo Banac's analysis of historical revisionism in post-Tito Yugoslavia he describes an 'outpouring' of critical historiography (Banac 1982; Ballinger 2003) that challenged hegemonic Yugoslav narratives. In parallel to this revisionist trend there was also a rising interest in the Second World War:

> People wanted to find out what had been kept hidden. They wanted to grasp the extraordinary complexity of a complex period. They wanted to know what had happened in those years that had given birth to the Communist regime. They wanted to learn about themselves. (Pavlowitch 1988, 132)

A series of contentious sites of Tito-era violence all publicly regained their notoriety following the waning loyalty to Tito by the media and political elites that followed his death. These included the island prison of Goli Otok for political prisoners, which was run by the authorities of Socialist Yugoslavia from 1948 to 1988, the mass graves of the *foiba* and *jama* in the karst pits of Istria and Dalmatia, and the WWII detention and extermination camps of Jadovno and Jasenovac.[59] They remain controversial and politically

[58] Government sponsored annual commemorations have also caused conflict between Croatian and Austrian governments keen to disassociate themselves from fascism. A political and civil society coalition was formed in Austria in an attempt to ban the Bleiburg commemoration (Milekić, 2017a; Subotić, 2018).

[59] The Jadovno extermination camp near Gospić Yugoslavia (now in Croatia) was one of twenty-six camps operated by the NDH. Pits and crevices (*jama)* in the Velebit mountain and gorge range near the camp were used for the executions of prisoners. Croatian state officials have attended commemorations held annually at the Saranova *jama*, the closest to the camp site since 2009. Parallel events by Croatian war veterans are regularly held in the neighbouring town of Krk. The number of victims remains disputed. As discussed above, the number of victims at Jasenovac also remains highly contentious and divisive. For a discussion of the numbers (and their manipulation) see Anžulović and Branimir (1999) and also Karge (2009).

charged sites of both memory and mourning within the dynamics of their socio-political conditions, often gaining attention for a particular ethnic group having claimed victimisation or for the creation of political instability due to conflict over acceptable memorialisation practices.[60] As nationalist narratives became visible hindrances to EU accession and as an alternative 'European memory language' was adopted, we again see this technique of downplaying legacies or burdens of the past for the sake of prosperity and stability (Milošević 2016; 2018).

Of all the examples of the attribution of agency to landscape as physical site of historic revision, the mass graves of the *foibe* and *jama* are the most salient. Here, notions of victimhood and identity are (re)located materially and discursively in public commemorative rituals. As discussed in the following section, for the past two decades, scholars such as Ballinger and Schäuble have drawn attention to the mass graves of the *foiba* (sinkholes), primarily located in the Italo-Yugoslav borderlands of the Julian March, and the *jama* (pits) in the Dalmatian hinterland bordering Bosnia-Herzegovina, as sites of past and contemporary contestation (Denich 1994; Hayden 1994; Klabjan 2017; Palmberger 2003; 2004; 2006; Schäuble 2011; Schramm; 2011). These studies have focused on the political salience of the silencing of memories of ethnic and ideological violence in the post war period, and the contrasting local and official memorials and commemorative practices. The *foibe and jama* massacre sites bind the emotional force of exhumations and reburials to the materiality of the conflict as well as to the landscape in which the massacres are understood to be temporally and spatially grounded.

The Foiba of Istria and the Jama of Dalmatia[61]

The high karst landscape of Dalmatia provided ideal conditions for the 'strike-and-retreat' tactics adopted by Communist Partisans. Dense forest cover in all seasons shielded the movement of ground troops from aircraft and allowed for the construction of secret military camps and hospitals to evade enemy detection. The natural sinkholes and steep valleys made heavy vehicle movements difficult, with narrow tracks more easily defended. The extensive natural cave system, the chasms, and the geology of porous limestone meant that tunnelling for protection, storage, and attack was both possible and effective (Macfarlane 2019). These qualities so vital to shelter and concealment, however, were repurposed with deadly effect

[60] In August 2017 there was a near collapse of the coalition government when veterans affiliated with the Croatian Defence Forces (HOS) mounted a memorial plaque sporting a Ustaša slogan near the Jasenovac camp. According to veterans' groups the plaque was mounted to honour 11 soldiers from the HOS paramilitary unit (which shares the acronym HOS with the WWII period Croatian Armed Forces, the Ustaše fascist militia of the Independent State of Croatia) who were killed in the 1990s Croatian war (Milekic 2017b). The Croatian Democratic Comunity (HDZ) averted the crisis of an internal rebellion by the minority Independent Democratic Serb Party (SDSS) and the liberal Croatian People's Party (HNS) when it had the plaque moved to a nearby town and announced the formation of a special Council for Dealing with Consequence of the Rule of Non-Democratic Regimes (Milkeic 2017b; Subotić 2018).].

[61] The word *foiba* (pl. *foibe)* is a technical term used by geologists and speleologists to describe sinkholes formed by water erosion. The word *jama* (pl. *jame*) is also a geological reference that translates as pit or cave.

for large-scale reprisal killings of civilian and military victims. [62] Naturally occurring caves and pits (*jama* in Croatian and *foibe* in Italian) across Yugoslavia were used to dispose of and conceal thousands of bodies, implicating the landscape in the conflicted political narratives of World War II.

In the 1980s the rediscoveries of the World War Two dead and their public exhumations and reburials were used to further fuel mistrust and to inflame interethnic animosity, contributing to the warfare that erupted in the region in the 1990s.[63] Violence yielded 'still other bodies in mass graves, sources of recrimination that fuelled the wars further' (Verdery 1999, 97). This afforded opportunities for commemorative funerals which provided a 'supreme moment for transforming ritual into political theatre' (Hayden 1994, 172; Ray 2006). As argued above, the ceremony of ancestral reburial reconfigures space and time, marking the territory as home soil and collapsing what happened in the past into the present (Verdery 1999, 110; Schäuble 2011). Nationalist politics on each side unearthed evidence of suppression and crimes committed against their ethnic group but did nothing to acknowledge or condemn the atrocities they themselves were accused of (Palmberger 2006, 530). As Palmberger argues, painful individual memories of unspoken crimes were instead shifted into the public sphere. For Verdery (1999, 115), in the former Yugoslavia, dead bodies became politically effective vehicles of historical revision due to the associations they evoked, touching on issues of justice, personal grief, victimisation, and suffering. These associations were of an emotional strength that feelings of 'disorientation' were created, such that people would become 'receptive to arguments, stories, and symbols that seem to give them a compass' (Ibid.). In the 1980s and early 1990s, a time when group identities were in question, the commemorative ceremonies at the *jama* and *foibe* sites were to serve such a function. The political authorities took advantage of the opportunity to make territorial claims to a post-Communist nation-state based on complex conceptions of genealogies and territory (Denich 1994; Hayden 1994; Klabjan 2017; Palmberger 2003, 2004, 2006; Schäuble 2011; Schramm; 2011).

The cultural anthropology and memory studies expert Aleida Assmann distinguishes the political and cultural memories evoked at such sites from the social memories that disappear when their carriers die (Assmann 2008). Manifestations of social and political, national and cultural memory are grounded in

[62] During the fierce battle of civil war of 1941-1945 mass murder took place on all sides: Tito's communist-led Partisans fought with the ISC governing Croatian Ustaša troops as well as Serbian royalists or Četniks. As Schäuble (2011, 28) describes the perpetrators: 'The Ustaša committed genocide against Serbs, Jews and Gypsies, the Četniks killed thousands of civilians, mainly in Bosnia, and the Partisans slaughtered tens of thousands of Ustaše, Četniks and other opponents.'

[63] As an example, in 1990 the mass media, under the control of Miloševic, televised the reburials of Serbian victims (presided over by the Orthodox Church) from graves in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia Herzegovina which had been sealed over and denied by the Titoist government and contained bodies of Serbs massacred by the Ustaše during World War II. At the same time Tudjman was arguing for a downgrading of the numbers killed at Jasenovac, and spoke publicly of the crimes committed by Ustaše as necessary steps towards an independent nation state, further fuelling already existing fears and mistrust of the past (Palmberger 2006, 530; Ballinger 2003, 110-111).

more durable carriers of external symbols and representations in order to transform the ephemeral into long-term transgenerational memory (Ibid., 55). Collective memory, Assmann contends, is always mediated memory. Institutions like the Catholic Church do not 'have' memory, rather they 'make' one for themselves with the support of memorial signs such as places and monuments, images, rites, and ceremonies. The Church as institution 'constructs' an identity (Assmann 2006) and such an identity requires select and exclusive memories, 'neatly separating useful from not useful, and relevant from irrelevant memories' (Assmann 2008, 55). The karst pit acts as monument, as memorial, and as religious architecture within which the inevitable flux of social memory is meant to be fixed. Although seemingly more immutable, the limestone mountains of Dalmatia have been the site of unrelenting historical revision, oscillating from being sites of silenced social memories dependent on embodied and interactive communication to being seen as the political and cultural matrices of memory intended for transmission across generations. As Assmann clarifies:

> As we pass the shadow line from short-term to long-term durability or from an embodied intergenerational to a disembodied and reembodied transgenerational memory, an implicit, heterogeneous, and fuzzy bottom-up memory is transformed into a much more explicit, homogeneous, and institutionalized top-down memory.

In the Italo-Yugoslav borderland of Istria, the memory and commemoration of violence implicates the landscape not only in the memory politics of World War II, but also in the memory politics of exile and in multiple ethnicities' experience of state sponsored violence during the Great War, fascism, Yugoslav Communism, and Yugoslavia's dissolution. The anthropologist Pamela Ballinger (2000; 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2014) has written extensively on the repercussions of the displacement of 200,000 to 350,000 ethnic Italians from the border zone in the decade after World War II as it passed from Italian to Yugoslav control.[64] The physical and mnemonic landscape of Istria continues to play a key role in the context of memory debates of victimhood, collaboration, resistance, and wartime violence in this highly heterogeneous and historically shifting borderland. Ballinger notes that the violence of conflict and displacement is directly present in the region's physical landscape, recalling the past and reflecting its ongoing status as a site of contestation:

[64] The number of displaced is unconfirmed; however, Ballinger (2000) estimates that they range from 200,000 to 350,000. Ballinger has contested the interpretation that Italians in Istria were persecuted for 'the sole crime of being Italian' as it does not account for the fates of Slovenes and Croats who were also victims of the *foibe*. Rather, she contends that ideology and nationalism are inextricably bound, and many factors were involved in the exodus, including 'communist ideology, the need to consolidate power through the elimination of the past regime's personnel and of any potential opponents (and democratic alternatives), ethno-national resentment against Fascist Italianization policies, and opportunism and personal vendettas carried out under the cover of larger questions' (Ballinger 2000, 12). For scholars who have examined the political and cultural contexts of the exodus in this region (and the now Italian) city of Trieste in particular, including official and local commemoration practices, see also: Klabjan (2017); Knittel (2015); Purvis and Atkinson (2009); Sluga (2001).

> Every so often the earth disgorges the occasional bomb or mine from one of the world wars; numerous war memorials (great and small) dot the territory; pits (or foibe) in the rocky, karstic terrain stand as ghastly tombs for those whose encounters with 'partisan justice' finished there; the abandoned ghost towns of the Istrian interior still make painfully evident the effects of the post-1945 exodus; the faint traces of slogans visible on buildings in Istria proclaim 'The People's Power!' or 'Long Live Stalin! Long Live Tito!'; and neofascist graffiti in Trieste demand 'Schiavi fora!'[65] (Ballinger 2003, 21)

Ballinger argues that it is the *foibe* of the Julian (*Guilian*) March, the karstic pits in which Partisans executed several thousand persons in 1943 and 1945, which act as the focal point for contemporary intertwined debates on the Istrian exodus as an act of ethnic cleansing and for the competing narratives of suffering and victimisation under both the Fascist and Communist regimes (Ibid., 129).[66] The politics that surround the *foibe* (including the wider claims of genocide in Trieste) operate within what Ballinger calls 'a politics of submersion' in which various regional actors recast their national history in order to obscure complexities in their account of World war II and the exodus (Ballinger 2003, 12). Metaphorically, submersion refers to the silenced histories of the crimes and claims that the past and the truth were 'buried' by the state. More literally, the concept of submersion refers to the underground spaces where controversial numbers of bodies lie unexhumed.

Ballinger identifies the *foibe* and their distribution across the region as a tool through which Italian nationalist groups, exiles and their associations can reinforce their sense of a historical and territorial identity, irrespective of current border arrangements. These groups, she notes, identify as 'submerged communities' and have long since recognised 'that these caves represent powerful sites of potential knowledge and of ritual return' (Ibid., 133). In renewed debates about collective victimisation, the *foibe* have become politically bound to competing narrative strategies claiming and contesting war time acts of genocide and ethnic cleansing under Communism and fascism and the legal questions of property restitution for exiled Istrians. The narrative of Italian victimhood, however, obscures, or rather submerges, the historical events that preceded them, namely, the persecution of Slovenes and Croats under Italian

[65] Slavs Out!, *schiavi* is a derogatory epithet that plays on an historic association between *slavi*, Slavs, and *schiavi*, or slave (Ballinger 2003, 21).

[66] The *foibe* were most active as sites of violence in two periods, 1943 in Istria and again in 1945 in and around Trieste. The Yugoslav Communist Party dominated the anti-Fascist resistance in the region and comprised of Slovenes and Croats, as well as Italians. The Yugoslav armed forces took control of Istria briefly following the capitulation of Italy in 1943 and had clear ambitions to annex the Istria area to the future Socialist Yugoslavia. For a month (before German occupation) Partisans committed brutal acts of violence against the Italian population and suspected Fascist regime collaborators. The second period of 'semi-organised' violence that led to the mass Italian emigration followed in 1945, after liberation from the German occupation and the instalment of the Yugoslav government (Altin and Badurina 2018). For scholarly accounts of the *foibe* and debates regarding ethnic cleansing, either as spontaneous (and limited) forms of state sponsored violence or a method used elsewhere in Yugoslavia to eliminate opposition and install a new regime, see Ballinger (2003, 282 n.9) and her translation of the work of historians Roberto Spazzali and Giampaolo Valdevit.

Fascism and the atrocities committed during the Italian occupation of Yugoslavia. Also concealed are the facts that Italian Partisans and German troops had themselves used the *foibe* as killing sites (Knittel 2014, 249) and that Croats and Slovenes were among the victims (Ballinger 2003).

In the Julian March, the subterranean horror of the *foibe* and its associations with disinterment and the darkness of the underground are deployed in many of the storytelling practices of local and regional groups. In their struggle to articulate and reconfigure their historical narratives, metaphors of 'submersion, hiddenness, and mystery evoked by caves and pits' (Ballinger 2003, 133; Knittel 2014) are bound up with the disparate accounts of traumatic events. Like the 'open wound' of the *jama* the imagery of the *foibe* maintains a powerful hold on the imagination as a symbol of mass graves and 'endless mourning' (Altin and Badurina 2018, 186). As a void or absence, it invites meanings and symbolic attribution, even inversions, in reference to the unearthing of the 'light' of truths, that counter official historiography:

> The soil, often shot through with water, is marked by numerous chasms—people have counted 1,700—which descend for hundreds of meters into the bowels of the earth. These are the mysterious, frightening, impenetrable foibe. Near them there exist cavities of every kind, underground passages, grottoes, and underground rivers…the foibe have become an instrument of martyrdom and a horrid tomb for thousands of victims …the lorries of death arrived filled with victims who, often chained to one another and with hands cut up by wire, were pushed in groups from the edge of the chasm…When the tombs were covered, the tragedy of the foibe was also covered by the conjuration of silence. No government, no judge—no one—pushed for an investigation of the massacres. (Lorenzini 1991)[67]

The most infamous of sealed *foibe* in the region was not actually created by the speleological topography, but is a disused mine shaft to the east of Trieste.[68] Declared a national monument in 1992, the *foiba di Basovizza* 'stands as a metonym for all the *foibe* in which Italians met their end' (Ballinger 2003, 138).[69] It is a site of continued contestation between victims' associations that seek further recognition from the Italian state and Slovene minorities whose sense of victimhood has been further antagonised by the lack of recognition of a co-located monument that commemorates four Slovene anti-Fascists executed in 1930

[67] Lorenzini, Marcello. 1991. *Le stragi delle foibe: Francesco Cossiga a Basovizza.* Trieste: Comitato per le Onoranze ai Caduti delle Foibe. See translation and full quotation in Ballinger (2003, 130-131).
[68] As such it is often more accurately referred to by some historians as *pozzo* rather than *foiba*, however, this is its official title thereby inscribing it in the same discourse as other mass graves in the region.
[69] Like many place names in the region there exist multiple toponyms, for example, Basovizza is also known as Basovica by Trieste's Slovenes. The symbolic and literal use and misuse of the term *foibe* to refer to 'all victims of repression' in historiography is discussed in Altin and Baldurina (2018 n.14). To avoid decontextualization of the *foibe* this section will focus on memorial conditions at Basovizza and highlight that the emotive (and political) power of the *foibe* is such that it is transferred to a site that is not a true *foibe*, demonstrating that the word no longer refers to geomorphology, but to a site of mass killings.

and serves as a site of counter-celebrations. Further grievance is claimed for this memorial as it has been subject to repeated defacement; a separate memorial plaque was erected to acknowledges this (Sluga 1999, 188).[70]

Following the return of the Italian administration in 1954 and after five years of deliberation, the Ministry of Defence took control of the mineshaft (Dato 2013). It was then filled and covered with a concrete slab which was sheathed in metal to make a low plinth. It was sealed on the grounds that it was dangerous and suspected to contain wartime explosives, concomitantly rendering exhumations impossible [Figure 2.38] (Knittell 2014). Unlike the *jama* near Sinj with its protective stone wall to warn of the pit below, it has no barriers, and visitors to Basovizza are left to imagine its depth and darkness. To aid the imaginative task, an abstract 'hypothetical cross-sectional diagram of the *foibe*' is carved in bas relief on the standing stone memorial tablet [Figure 2.39] accompanied by unverified numbers of dead deduced by the approximate number of bodies per cubic foot (Ballinger 2003). A ragged vertical column is depicted with munitions, detritus, bones, portions of skeletons and skulls [Figure 2.40]. The sculptural relief portrays the earth as densely layered with war remains and the dead. Semantic discourse is linked to a ruined landscape and in this way the exiles offer 'powerful evidence' of Istria's destruction, evidence that resists various efforts to silence the story of exodus' (Ibid., 174). The perceived destruction is wrought by violent displacement and dispossession, and the landscape is represented for political purposes as vandalised and desecrated. The following section takes up this relation between violation and landscape to consider the material destruction in these and other former Yugoslav memorial borderlands during and after the conflicts of the 1990s. Thus, we turn now from the complex legacies of the construction of Yugoslav memorial landscapes to the legacies of their deconstruction.

[70] The *foiba* of Basovizza is also argued to be the counter-memorial to the violence of the Italian Fascist concentration camps that existed in the region prior to German occupation in 1943. Knittel argues the *Basovizza* memorial is intentionally managed to act as a rival memory site, in particular to the Risiera di San Sabba camp near Trieste, with separate commemorative days and events for competing memory actors (Knittel 2014; 2015). In the Italian commemorative calendar, The *Giorno della memoria* is held annually on 27 January at the *Risiera di San Sabba* a date intentionally shared with international Holocaust Remembrance Day. The recently introduced national Memorial Day *Giorno del ricordo* was first held on 19 February 2005 and commemorates the victims of the *foibe* killings and the Istrian exodus (Ballinger 2004, 146). Neither site, Knittel argues, is concerned with presenting a comprehensive picture of the complexity of the region's history, instead the competing memorials 'treat their narrative as definitive' (2013, 261). The memorials at the Basovizza *foibe* and at the Risiera problematically marginalise the broader context of the violent events and ignore the history of Fascism (Ibid.).

2.38 ‘Shrine of the Foiba di Basovizza’: Basovizza, Trieste. Photo source: Trieste Museum retrieved from www.triestemusei.com/p/sacrario-della-foiba-di-basovizza.html [accessed: 25 June 2019].

2.39 'Sezione Interna Foiba' cross section monument at the Foiba di Basovizza: Basovizza, Trieste. Photo: Andrea Pruiti (2017).

2.40 Detail of cross section at Foiba di Basovizza: Andrea Pruiti (2017).

As this chapter has thus far demonstrated, the Communist Party considered the interpretation and commemoration of World War II as one of the most significant ideological pillars of Socialist Yugoslavia (Vojak, Tomić and Kovačev 2019; Karge 2014). Despite its near monopoly on commemoration and memorials, the Yugoslav government of the late Socialist period, facing existential threats by the economic and debt crisis of the late 1970s, could not resolve growing challenges to its policy of remembrance. With the violent break-up of Yugoslavia in 1991, the memorial heritage relating to World War II became a political target, as alternative national counter-memories constructed in the 1980s were invoked to reinterpret history and legitimise new patterns of remembrance. The dissolution of the Yugoslav state also saw the return of ritual and religious practices and the construction of sacralised narratives of the past to address this new political context.

The systematic neglect and targeted destruction of Socialist memorial art (Jovanović Weiss and Linke 2012) reflects efforts to erase or devalue collective memories of the positive social value of antifascism (Kirn and Burghardt 2012), contributing to the long-term crisis of memory politics in Croatia and the persistently problematic lack of inter-ethnic reconciliation in the region (Vojak, Tomić and Kovačev 2019, Pavlaković 2009). In his discussion of the role of memory and identity in the fall of Yugoslavia, Müller writes (2002, 17):

> […] Yugoslavia has horrifically demonstrated what happens when memory wars turn into real wars. At the same time, these wars were not so much wars over memory, as what Primo Levi once called 'wars on memory.' Memory was literally blown up, as monuments, mosques and other concrete manifestations of collective memory were erased, and mnemonic maps were rewritten as normative maps for an ethnically re-configured future. The dead, as Walter Benjamin observed as the century's central catastrophe was just about to unfold, are not safe from politics. And, ironically, with the end of actual fighting in the former Yugoslavia, the war over (and on) memory has even intensified further.

The destruction of cultural heritage in the 1990s and the post-hostility period has taken many forms including deliberate targeting, misuse, looting, vandalism, and iconoclasm (Viejo-Rose 2007, 103; Chapman 1994).[71] Although these forms of violence are more commonly applied to cultural objects and architecture, I argue that the consideration of their fate yields insights into how 'unsettled landscapes' are both like and yet unlike traditional sites of war heritage (monuments, archives, museums), and how

[71] The disregard for the historical significance of memorial sites during the war in Croatia was not only the work of the Serb paramilitaries and the Croatian Army. For example, the UN peacekeeping missing, UNPROFOR, also used one of the Jasenovac complex buildings to stockpile confiscated ammunition (Subotić 2019a).

consequently post-conflict landscapes are 'rethought and remade' (Stig-Sørensen and Viejo-Rose 2015, 1).[72]

2.5 Anti-Landscapes: Acts of production and destruction (1980 – now)[73]

The earth-boundedness of the unknown dead, like those in Gradina, Jasenovac, the *jama* and the *foibe,* continues to have symbolic significance for what anthropologist Katherine Verdery (1999, 96) calls the unique 'post-Yugoslav dead-politics.'[74] Verdery describes the former Yugoslavia as a 'land of graves' (1999, 98) and argues that corpses play an important role in the reconfiguring of space, through efforts to fix and consecrate gravesites as territorial claims for one or another nationalist project. The bones of the dead reconfigure space and time by altering the significance of territory and the rewriting of history. Here, we may return to Olwig's account of landscape as a 'contested territory' in which political representation and social justice are constitutive factors. Similarly, Verdery argues that the land is contextual and substantive:

> burial and reburial are a matter of *earth*, of digging into the very dust of the spaces and territories in which the bodies lie. To establish new successor nation-states means to mark territories as 'ours' by discovering 'our sons' in mass graves and giving them proper burial in 'our soil,' thus consecrating the respective space as 'ours.' (Ibid, 97 original emphasis)

Concerned with territorial integrity, the Yugoslav elite struggled to respond to the politically volatile and economically prohibitive task of the appropriate recovery and burial of hundreds of thousands of human bodies. In the case of Jasenovac, the mass graves of Donja Gradina, and other officially authorised memory sites across the Republic, perpetrator and victim anonymity were secured through various narrative strategies, including the use of abstract categories such as 'victims of fascism' and 'domestic traitors' (Denich 1994, 370; Vojak, Tomić and Kovačev 2019).[75] For Verdery (1999), this is how the nameless dead enter politics in the former Yugoslavia, first concealed without identity in the earth, then

[72] See the work of the architect Lebbeus Woods (1993) who observed the destruction of the besieged city of Sarajevo (from 1992-March 1995) and wrote *War and Architecture* which makes the distinction between the dual role of architecture: as a weapon of destruction, and as a system of protection. See also Tanović (2019) for a discussion of this complex or 'Janus faced' role of architecture and of architects as creators of order in devastated post-war environments.

[73] The term 'anti-landscape' is from Samuel Hynes study of war narratives (1997, 8) in which soldiers defamiliarize the landscape to capture the unreality of the battlefield: 'War turns landscape into anti-landscape, and everything in that landscape into grotesque, broken useless rubbish –including human limbs.'

[74] By using the term Post-Yugoslav, Verdery is referring to new states collectively rather than the Serbian state that subsequently 'usurped the name' (1999, 96).

[75] The commemoration of the vast number of victims of the Great War saw the introduction of the memorial form of the *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier*, a site for both collective and individual mourning processes to 'remember everyone by remembering no one in particular' (Gillis 1994, 11). The commemorative practice of not naming victims differs in this case however as here the element of the 'unknown' was intentionally omitted and politically motivated.

exhumed, often publicly, and transfigured to serve in emerging nationalist histories, before then being 'properly' reburied by their kin and 'properly' mourned. These are processes that reshape and reconfigure the space of new nation states (Denich 1994). The scale of focus, here, is territorial, implicating landscape as grave site in the instigation of violence of nation-state creation in both the Socialist and post-Socialist periods. [76]

The skeletal remains of the dead problematise already contested territorial boundaries as the living make land claims based on the emplacement, ethnicity, and ancestry of their dead (Verdery 1999). Differences are further exacerbated as the Church and other faith leaders hold ultimate authority over death and burials in most cases, applying revisions of their own to nationalist narratives (Schäuble 2011). Where the dead lie, or where they once lay before reburial, are affective spaces, both politically and culturally powerful. Once the bodies are manipulated, physically or numerically, relations with and among the living are reorganised and activated, creating a new 'community of mourners' (Verdery 1994). Although the return of bones of the dead to cemetery and ossuary is regulated, this is often difficult in practice (Horvatinčić 2015), given the forensically complicated, politically fraught, and economically prohibitive practices of identification, recovery and reburial. In this way, landscapes do not register violence on their surface, but in their depths, and as such mass graves are sites that can resist spatial systematisation, by either religious or state agencies.

The return of violent conflict in the 1990s resulted in more unidentified dead in primary and 'secondary mass graves,' where the bodies from one site were disinterred, often violently and moved to another, creating more sites for divergent histories, protracted official memorial practices and varying opportunities for local commemorative invention and intervention.[77] This complexity has arguably increased with the involvement of DNA biotechnology testing and the international will to identify and recover the dead. Although intended by its international sponsors to encourage reconciliation, some have argued that post-mortem technology has 'tended to sharpen rather than bridge ethnonational divisions' as memorial sites at mass graves become discursive spaces in which to 'forge a new nationalism, one based

[76] The connections among kinship, burial, nationalism, and soil were overplayed in the early and wide spread media commentary of the 1990s wars, reflecting a long and prejudiced discussion of the 'tribal' or 'primitive' region and its 'ethnic hatreds.' I do not propose to regenerate it here, only to illustrate, as others have for example in Verdery (1999), Denich (1994) and Schäuble (2011) that the identification of memory with places of burial is complex in the cultural traditions of the former Yugoslavia. In addition to Verdery, for analyses of nationalist rhetoric involving 'genealogies,' 'ancestor cults,' and 'blood and soil' ideology see Hayden (1996). For the discursive tactics of political elites and regional media leading up to the wars of the 1990s see (Žanić 2007). For an analysis of the language of blood (ties) in the rhetoric leading up to and during the wars of the 1990s see (Jeffrey 2011).

[77] A 'secondary mass grave' refers to graves that contain the bodies of victims which have been moved from their original burial site. This often resulted in the violent dismembering of the remains to intentionally conceal evidence of war crimes. Wagner writes of secondary and even tertiary graves of the July 1995 Srebrenica massacre: 'not long after the mass graves had been filled, Bosnian Serb forces returned to these primary sites and, with backhoes and heavy machinery, they dug up, transported, and reburied bodies…Thus, hiding the traces of so-called ethnic cleansing became a disorderly affair' (2010, 64). See also: Komar (2008) and Wagner (2008).

as much on blood spilt as on blood inherited' (Wagner 2010, 72). Sarah Wagner argues that the space of the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Centre was designed to 'impart a sense of order on the site of annihilating violence and to materialise absence through tabulating loss' transforming brutally disarticulated bodies from a series of numbers on paper to rows of tombstones (Ibid., 61).[78] Wagner maintains that the burial space was altered in order to more visibly represent the numbers of the dead which then had a profound influence on modes of commemoration, a condition the Yugoslav state took great efforts to avoid in the case of mass deaths following the Second World War.

The same atrocities, the same dead, and importantly, the same sites, have been repurposed for a new line of argument adapted to suit the current political context almost two decades after the end of the Yugoslav War. The site in the Dalmatian hinterland bordering Bosnia-Herzegovina has been transformed into a rhetorical battleground, with Schäuble (2011, 26) suggesting that 'sacralized commemorations' conducted by members of the Catholic Church at the *jama* in Sinj Croatia are evidence of a new contrasting agenda:

> The battle…over who is and who is not a perpetrator, who suffered the most during the communist period, who made the most sacrifices, who has the most causalities to bewail and who will eventually emerge as the victor of history. Through the back door, this rhetorical showdown addresses the delicate question of guilt for waging war and committing war crimes in the context of the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia and the Homeland War. (Ibid.)

According to Schäuble, the Catholic Church, and the local Franciscan order in particular, engaged and invested in this battle, seeking, through ritual commemorative events, to declare the site as sacred, privileging and removing it from the common landscape, instilling symbolic value and 'ideally, deeming it indisputable' (Schramm 2011, 7). Schäuble found that the Croatian clerics repeatedly referred to past and prior injustices toward Croats in World War II and under the Communist regime, distorting historical facts in order to deny any claims of Croatian war guilt in the more recent Homeland War.

The moral authority claimed by the Church in commemorative practices at the *jama* promoted a reconfigured historical self-conception, one that Schäuble (2011) argues was adapted to suit the current political events, namely Croatian aspirations for EU ascension and a deep suspicion of the secular values emanating from the post-Communist shift in international relations. In particular, the discourse of human rights and the political implications of a unitary judicature were portrayed as threatening and suspect compared to the Christian set of 'divine values within which love for one's homeland is emphasised as

[78] For an analysis of the Srebrenica-Potocari memorial that argues that the memorial itself deepened divisions between Serbs and Bošniaks in Eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina and have long lasting implications for post-conflict transitional justice issues see (Braun 2014).

the prime religious duty' (Ibid. 48).[79] During religious ceremonies, appeals were made to the congregation's 'common memory' of past atrocities, injustices and their subsequent repression, while evoking a sense of regional belonging and loyalty (Ibid., 39). In this sense, the church's commemorations offer what Barry Schwartz argues are 'a register of sacred history' as the narratives they contain 'lift from an ordinary historical sequence those extraordinary historical events' that embody deep and fundamental values (Schwartz 1982, 377).

The sacralisation of the *jama* by the Catholic Church through ritual and ceremony can be understood as an attempt to evoke and bind the landscape to a sense of timelessness and to assert spiritual ownership. The landscape of victimisation maintains a continuity between invocations of regional suffering in the past and those of the present. Schäuble (2001, 52) finds this landscape functions as an 'open wound,' a pit that will not close, memories that will not be dispelled, thus hindering healing and reconciliation:

> The land does not allow its inhabitants to forget and is in turn also not allowed to forget as the people of the region persistently charge the territory with commemorative meaning and erect monuments and religious shrines to that effect.

The *jama* provides the location with auratic force–a 'landmark within a memorial landscape' where local people can engage with a much wider commemorative context (Ibid., 32), one stretching beyond a regional framework to contribute to national narratives and international tensions. The memories and emotions evoked at the *jama* in private observance and public commemorations not only influence people's engagement and relationship with the past but act to tether the past to the present. Despite official attempts in the Yugoslav period to relocate the place of commemoration, the memories of atrocity and mass death could not be separated from the soil in which the violence 'took place' (Schäuble 2011, 52):[80]

> It is exactly the 'concrete', the material environment and space of the *jama* that the transmitted local memories are located in. The aura that sacralises the *jama* and the memories related to it cannot be adequately re-presented by an abstract memorial. Especially in places where people

[79] In Schäuble's (2011, 49) fieldnotes of the sermon at the *jama* in 2005 she observes that the polemic of the priest was obliquely directed against the European Convention on Human Rights that all EU member states are expected to ratify. As adversaries of a 'superordinate set of laws,' largely opposed to Croatian EU membership, they rebuff any imposed legal or supranational state authority. Schäuble concludes that this reflects their refusal to submit to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. ICTY objectors at this time, were apprehensive of any admission of war guilt equivalency that could result in a challenge to the legitimacy of the Homeland War and ultimately Croatia as a nation.

[80] An official war memorial to symbolise the Partisan struggle against fascism from the Yugoslav period was erected not far from the *jama* in the mountains around Sinj, a site which seemed to Schäuble to be notably unattended and largely unacknowledged locally. It contrasts with the entrance to the crevice of the mass grave where on low protective walls, withered wreaths, coins, and rosary beads consistently adorned the site as evidence of recent visitors (Schäuble 2011, 31).

> were denied the right to mourn their losses and to tell publicly of their suffering, official commemoration sites are not sufficient to compensate for the deprivation. (Ibid.)

Schäuble's ethnographic analysis recognises that inscriptions of historical and personal narratives in local landscape formations have particular potential as sources of revised local histories. This is especially so following neglect, denial, or forced amnesia as was the case for Partisan atrocities under Communism. Schäuble found that her interlocutors would knowingly (re)construct distinct 'environments of memory' to reference but also to oppose official historiographies (Ibid. 27-28). The maintenance and restoration of the *jama* site near Sinj after the war in the 1990s demonstrate the relevance and importance of the memory of Communist massacres to the present socio-political situation. The *jama* site was transformed into 'a private as well as public sanctuary of religious devotion and pilgrimage' symbolically embedding it in a wider commemorative context (Ibid., 51). Unlike war monuments to unknown soldiers who willingly forfeited their lives for the nation, the victims of atrocity are venerated as national martyrs for their sacrifice at the hands of 'illegitimate' acts of violence. The ground is then 'sanctified by the blood and bones of its martyrs,' and where territory is contested these histories may 'invoke such notions of passion and sacrifice to assert the nation's right (or duty) to redeem that land and avenge its martyrs' (Ballinger 2003, 132). In contrast to the Yugoslav 'memorial parks' that were designed to 'offer a spiritual experience without introducing a religious dimension' (Putnik 2016) the observances made after the 1990s war at the *jama* site engage in traditional forms of mourning local war victims, ceremonial acts based on religious praxis that diverge from the official Yugoslav produced war narrative. This signals that in memorial practices and performances, there is, on balance, more continuity between periods than rupture with the past.

Memorial Landscapes: Reinterpretations and Reconfigurations

The death in 1980 of President Tito, the 'founding figure' of Socialist Yugoslavia, is generally considered 'the beginning of the end for post-war Yugoslavia or the onset of the period of "late socialism"' (Kulić 2019, 1). The period was marked by political and economic crises that would lead to the country's dissolution in 1990. Intensive historical revisionism undertaken by each of the former republics played a strategic role in all the social transformations of post-Yugoslavian societies (Gal and Burghardt 2012). The radically revised memory politics of the newly formed nation-states were the result of dissimilar and often conflicting mechanisms, narratives, criteria and dynamics; however, the key ideological agenda behind all these processes was to form or strengthen exclusively national sentiments (Horvatinčić 2015) and to consolidate new identities and new pasts (Kolstø 2014, 4). The processes included the denigration of a key ideology of the former social, political, and economic system, namely, the belief in the unity of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities in the anti-Fascist struggle and the Socialist revolution (Kirn 2014). Monuments and memorials had played an important role in creating and sustaining the 'war myth' (Karge

2014, 13) of a post war multi-ethnic community bound by 'Brotherhood and Unity,' and during the 1990s, they became targets of widespread attack, vandalism and destruction. The monuments and historical sites were re-interpreted to play a role in new public discourses and new understandings of the past.

During and after the Homeland War, then, the Croatian memory-scape became violently reconfigured.[81] Nearly three thousand monuments, statues, and plaques commemorating the Partisan movement and antifascism were damaged or completely destroyed (Hrženjak 2002; Pavlaković, 2013; Perica 2006). While the removal of memorials from public spaces was at times carried out by local authorities using administrative methods, there were also 'hundreds of instances when unknown (or possibly known but not prosecuted) perpetrators' severely damaged monuments and sculptures created by some of Croatia's most celebrated twentieth century artists, including Vojin Bakić, Antun Augustinčić, Dušan Džamonja, Vanja Radauš, and Edo Murtić' (Pavlaković 2013, 380).[82] Some memorials and monuments were destroyed with explosives, like Vojin Bakić's *Monument to the victory of the People of Slavonia* and the *Central Monument of the White Streams* by Vladimir Ugrenović and Berislav Radimir at the Kamensko Memorial Area [Figure 2.41 and Figure 2.42]. While many others were vandalised and remain neglected, some have not only been repaired and preserved but are celebrated as valuable patrimony, claimed by specific communities, for example, the Kampor cemetery on the island of Rab.[83]

[81] Research by the group Inappropriate Monuments has found that even before the declaration of war in 1990 the destruction of monuments and memorials dedicated to the workers' movement and the Peoples' Liberation Struggle (NOB) had begun before and continued after the end of open hostilities in 1995, thereby concluding that the destruction was not exclusively the result of war activities and military action. Comprehensive surveys of current monument and memorial conditions, however, are inconsistent. The Association of Croatian Antifascist fighters recorded a register of memorials and acts of memorial destruction as acts of 'violent de-memorialisation' during and after the War for Croatian Independence (Potkonjak and Pletencac 2016, 71). Andrew Lawler at Bangor University has undertaken a series of assessments on the individual municipal level of the current status and condition of monuments and memorials to the People's Liberation War on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is one of the few contemporary systematic attempts (written in English) to assess the damage done to the thousands of monuments and memorials in the former Yugoslavia. As reasons for the damage being previously 'unquantifiable' he cites the lack of a comprehensive recording system among and between stakeholders; the destruction of archives during and in the aftermath of the 1992-1995 war; and the current administrative system in Bosnia and Herzegovina. For an example report see Lawler (2019).

[82] As noted previously in this chapter, official stock-taking and nationwide surveys were made from the 1960s, including the 1976 survey by the Croatian branch of SUBNOR which showed that many municipalities did not know how many memorials existed on their territory and that a large number had been built without a plan. This eventually led to a new law to coordinate memorial activities and the establishment of a Committee for Memorializing Historical Events and Personalities (*Odbor za spomen-obilježavanje povijesnih dogadaja I ličnosti*) by the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia in 1976 (Vojak, Tomić and Kovačev 2019, n.41). In 2002 the Association of Anti-Fascist Fighters and the Anti-Fascists of Croatia published a monograph in which between 1990-2000, 2964 monuments were described as 'destroyed.' See also Sanja Horvatincić's (2017) doctoral thesis from the University of Zadar proposing a typology for a detailed study of the socio-historical context of 1737 monuments constructed in the Socialist period. For the interactive and digitally accessible database designed by Donald Niebyl, see: spomenikdatabase.org and the accompanying book *Spomenik* (Niebyl, Murray and Sorrell 2018) which describes itself as 'the first ever *spomenik* guidebook' although maps of memorials were produced throughout the 1970s.

[83] For example, Slovenia selected the cemetery at Kampor, on the island of Rab by Edvard Ravnikar (1953) as their entry at the Biennale of Architecture in Venice in 2004. See also (Kulić 2012).

2.41 The site of the ‘Monument to the revolutionary Victory of the People of Slavonia’ (*Spomenik pobjedi revolucije naroda Slavonije*), designed by Vojin Bakić with Josip and Silvana Seissel (1968) (destroyed by explosives 1992): Blažuj Hill in Kamenska, Croatia. Photo: Jan Kempenaers ‘Spomenik 21 (Kamenska), 2009’ retrieved from www.jankempenaers.info/works/1/26 [accessed 15 June 2019].

2.42 The remains and ruins of the ‘Central Monument of the White Streams’ (*Bijeli Potoci*) at Kamensko Memorial Area by Vladimir Ugrenović and Berislav Radimir (1981) (destroyed by explosives ca. 2008): Korenica, Croatia. Retrieved from www.spomenikdatabase.org/Korenica [accessed 15 June 2019].

Still others have been functionally repurposed, including, notably, the isolated and elevated monument at Petrova Gora, which is undergoing a protracted dismantling for scrap metal, as well as serving as an illegal radio tower and more recently, as a dark sky park for stargazing.[84]

In some instances, the signification of a memorial has become more actively appropriated, with a site that was once the symbol of all Yugoslav victimhood becoming the site of ethnically specific victimhood. This is arguably the case for the Makrovica memorial complex on the Kozara mountain in Bosnia Herzegovina, which was near the border with Croatia during the war in Bosnia (1992-1995). The monument remains intact, but its meaning has changed (Paludan-Müller 2015) (Figure 2.43). Once intended and considered as a form of collective heritage, even before the end of the war in Bosnia, the monument was claimed as the cultural property of the ethnic group that now dominates the region. The monument was nationally reframed to define mono-ethnic identity, victimhood, belonging and boundaries (Sahovic and Zulumovic 2015; Anderson 1983). The re-interpretation was primarily discursive and performative, conducted through the curatorial management of an on-site museum, the ethnic makeup of attendees and the speech content at designated annual commemorations, all designed to identify the site with a particular narrative of victimhood and persecution and to exclude alternatives.[85]

[84] Petrova Gora became the first 'Dark Sky Place' in Croatia when it received International Dark Sky Park certification in June 2019. As a 'significant landscape area' it is managed by multiple county level institutions, all of which cooperated to 'protect the night sky' in the area and earn certification. Although touristic potential is mentioned, the monument in the park and its state of disrepair is not. 'Croatia Earns First International Dark Sky Place at Petrova gora-Biljeg' darksky.org/croatia-earns-first-international-dark-sky-place-at-petrova-gora-biljeg/.

[85] Of particular note was the exhibition entitled 'Three Genocides against the Serbs' that was mounted in the on-site memorial museum soon after the war in Bosnia. Replacing the former exhibition of photographs and artefacts from the Second World War the narrative of the new collection spanned the conflict of three historical periods: the first and Second World War and the war in the former Yugoslavia. Although the director of the museum claimed the exhibit was intended to be temporary, it was not removed until 2017. See Sahovic and Zulumovic (2015).

2.43 ‘Monument to the Revolution,’ (*Spomenik Revoluciji*), designed by Dušan Džamonja (1972): Mrakovica area of Kozara National Park, Republic of Srpska, Bosnia. Photo: Jan Kempenaers ‘Spomenik 5 (Kozara), 2007’ retrieved from www.jankempenaers.info/works/1/4 [accessed 15 June 2019].

The only physical change to the landscape of the Mrakovica memorial complex was the addition in 1993 of a large Orthodox cross at the entrance to the site consecrated by the head of the Serb Orthodox Church, Patriarch Pavle (Sahovic and Zulumovic 2015). The revisionism announced by the erection of this cross, however, was also applied to the symbolic power of the Kozara mountain.[86] As early as 1993, the mountain site of the battle of Kozara was exclusively referred to in the media and in the commemorative address as the 'mountain of sacrifice of the Serbian Christian people.' [87] The victims were presented as Serb only, and the perpetrators as 'Croatian Quislings' (Sahovic and Zulumovic 2015, 218).[88] The modification of the meaning of the place corresponded with the re-interpretation of suffering there. The sites associated with 'pre-existing' memories of previous conflicts may also be reused as ready-made templates to frame and locate later conflicts. The sacred status of the mountain is here symbolically reattributed and reconfigured with the singular religious inscription of the cross in the memorial landscape. The war heritage site is transformed, or reactivated, through post war construction, even though the landscape is perpetually affected and made by conflict, thereby reflecting, as Stig-Sørensen and Viejo-Rose (2015, 2) have argued, that such places are not just 'the heritage of war' but 'actively participate in the recovery and remaking of communities;' they emerge from post-conflict phases with altered roles and connotations, their meanings replete with domestic and international implications.

The current state of a select number of Yugoslav war memorials has also come to the attention of the global media as part of the recent 'discovery' of architecture in the 'former east' (Kulić 2018), with consequences for an appropriation of a different kind. The instigation of the media phenomenon has largely been attributed to the 2010 publication of the monograph *Spomenik* (Kulić 2018; Horvatinčić 2012; Hatherley 2016) by the Belgian photographer Jan Kempenaers and the subsequent reproduction and dissemination of the corresponding photographs on the internet via social networks and commercial media outlets.[89] These and other projects have led to a new photographic genre and mass media

[86] The destruction of select Socialist-era memorials in the RSK is explained by Baillie (2019, forthcoming) as one of the tactics following the cooling of relations between Milošević and the RSK leadership, aimed at building legitimacy through the revision of iconography and historical narratives. Two memorials designed by Bogdanović in Serb dominated areas were also subject to revisionist alterations and interpretations in Knjaževac and in Bela Crvkva. In non RSK-territories (what is now Croatia) revisionist focus shifted to the 'rehabilitation' of Ustaša 'heroes' as streets across Croatia were renamed in their honour (Baillie 2019 forthcoming). A singularly controversial attempt at revision was made by Tudjman who proposed that Jasenovac be rededicated as a memorial for all Croat victims of the Second World War in addition to the non-Croat victims of the Ustaša regime (Sindbæk 2012, 16; Baillie 2019).

[87] *Kozaracki Vjesnik,* (22 October 1993, 1) as cited in Sahovic and Zulumovic (2015, 218).

[88] Sahovic and Zulumovic (2015, 209) mark the change in language used in the media's new narrative of the Kozara battle and the Mrakovica memorial complex. In communist historiography the site was to commemorate Partisans struggle against the German occupiers and 'local Quislings' referring to 'the Croat *Ustasha* and Serb *Chetnik* movements.' During and following the conflict in the 1990s 'Quislings' were specified as 'Croatian' only (Ibid., 218).

[89] A selection of popular multi-media examples includes: Azzarello (2015) Andy Day Documents Parkour Practice on Architectural War Monuments, *Design Boom*; Howarth (2014) Abandoned Soviet Architecture Photographed by Rebecca Litchfield, *Dezeen*; Jennifer (2015) Balkan Monuments Become a Parkour

fascination with the architectural heritage of Socialist collapse. Indeed, the abstract formal qualities of the architecture and monuments of late Socialism have proven ideal for commodification (Kulić 2018). Emptied of their geo-political content and representative of an obsolete Socialist system, the monuments are frequently presented as 'shells' that 'can be admired for their abstract formal qualities, but what they stand for allegedly cannot have any relevance today' (Ibid, 9). Media commentators consistently refer to late Socialist sculpture as 'alien' (Surtees 2013), and their landscapes, by association, are also rendered 'mysterious' (Neutelings 2008 in Kempenears 2010) and 'otherworldly' (Sekulić 2019).

The misrepresentation of a curated selection of Yugoslav monuments as 'forlorn and forgotten', reducing their significance to 'pure sculpture' (Kempenaers 2010, n.p.) is symptomatic, Kulić argues, of the new Orientalists' reiteration of the 'totalitarian paradigm' (2018).[90] A discursive tactic inherited from the Cold War, this premise identifies the Socialist state as a system of absolute governance and all that is produced under it as the unnegotiated device of totalitarianism, although much cross disciplinary research has contradicted such views for decades. Indeed, this chapter has contributed to the critique, highlighting the complexities of the patronage structure, artist and local community commemorative initiatives, the stereotypes and 'explicit othering' that continue to persist. The images of late Socialist architecture that now circulate in the digital realm are interpreted with 'anonymous detachment that ignores both their original meaning and their artistic merit' (Kulić 2018). Yugoslav monuments in particular have come to serve as *sceana frons* for film, music videos, parkour and skateboard practice.[91] The landscapes in which these monuments were constructed, which were intrinsic to their siting, recede still further and become increasingly mute, more abstract than even the backdrop.

Playground, *Vice: Creators*. For a critique of the media and internet treatment of *spomenik* written for a popular media and design platform see Hatherley (2016) Concrete Clickbait, *The Calvert Journal*.

[90] Representations such as these, Kulić argues, are reflective of a novel form of Orientalism, in which the alleged 'otherness' is identified not as cultural or racial, but ideological, and although still located in the East, it is that of 'Europe's own East' (2018, 7-8). Kulić builds on the model theorised by Edward Said (1979) but in contrast to the earlier Orientalisms often reproduced by scholars and academics 'this new wave ignores and often directly contradicts the results of scholarly research; it rather aims at a wider audience through collusion with commercial outlets, achieving hegemony over popular perceptions through its suitability for digital circulation' as a pop-culture phenomenon (2018, 8-9). Kulić's critique of the multiple forms of 'othering' in the mass media interpretations of late Socialist architecture is related to previous iterations of Orientalizations of Eastern Europe identified by Larry Wolff as 'demi orientalization' (Wolff 1994, 7) and specifically recognised as applied to the Balkans by Todorova (1997).

[91] Two examples of films include the popular *Hunger Games* film franchise which filmed a likeness of the Kosmaj monument from the mountain park near Belgrade in 2015; it appears in the concept artwork for the 2017 science fiction film *Ghost in the Shell* by Nivanh Chanthara. Yugoslav monuments have appeared in multiple videos and album art including: DJ Alan Walker 'Darkside' music video (2018) film locations Podgarić and Tjentište; 'Temple' by David and Douglas Guillot; 'The Reason I Came' video for the Austrian group, Olympique. The art group designed and created two Lego block versions of the Kosmaj monument entitled 'Kosmaj Toy' and exhibited at two art fairs in the United States in 2012 and 2018. See also (Kulić 2018); (Azzarello 2015). Andy Day Documents Parkour Practice on Architectural War Monuments. *Design Boom*, 10 November. Available at: http://www.designboom.com/art/andy-day-former-parkour-architecture-11-10-2015/ [accessed 9 July 2018].

For Horvatinčić (2012), the critique of the popularisation of the 'ruiniphilic' nature of Yugoslav memorial art and sculpture begins with the (mis)use of the term *spomenik* to refer to all late Socialist Yugoslav commemorative sculpture as a homogenised whole. The word *Spomenik* is indigenous to all countries of the former Yugoslavia. The root *spomen* meaning memory, refers to any kind of architectural or sculptural work dedicated to important people or events, irrespective of historical period, artistic intention or political purpose (Ibid.). The first use of the English neologism *Spomeniks* to refer to the Yugoslav Partisan monuments outside the region was by the Dutch architect Willem Jan Neutelings, who wrote the text for the publication by Kempenaers (Sekulić 2019). In addition to reducing a complex art history to a brief précis, his postscript makes the controversial if not specious claim that the language of abstraction was employed as a device to appease both victim and perpetrator (Neutelings in Kempenaers 2010, n.p.; Horvatinčić 2012). Neutelings interprets the monuments in their post conflict state as 'neutral, referring to nothing but themselves' and 'pure sculpture in a desolate landscape' (Neutelings in Kempenaers 2010, n.p.). In contrast to the more recent scholarship cited in this chapter, in which the commemorative sculpture is understood to be part of a complex construction of Socialist built environments, these new media representations decontextualize and de-historicise the art-historical and cultural factors that produced the commemorative work within a Yugoslav modern tradition.

Kempenaers's book includes twenty-six photographs of twenty-five monuments (Tjentište appears twice) taken from 2006 to 2009 and located on the territory of former Yugoslav states: Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. The sites in which the sculptures were photographed, however are barely differentiated and the authors of the works, the circumstances of their construction, alongside the events to which they were designed to commemorate, remain unidentified. Indeed, each photograph is generically numbered: '*Spomenik No.1*'(Podgarić); *Spomenik No.2 (Petrova Gora)*; *Spomenik No. 9 (Jasenovac)*' and so on. The photographs also lack precise geographical information, further emphasising that they be considered an abstract collection of objects rather than referential of either a past or present political and cultural context.[92] In the absence of any artistic attribution, the collaboration among architects, landscape architects, artists and sculptors that resulted in the construction of these commemorative environments has been lost.

[92] This indeterminacy has then become replicated with the images of the *Spomenik* endlessly circulated on popular and commercial websites. Critics of the publicity generated by the Kampenear *Spomenik* project (and others linked to the same media phenomenon) have also acknowledged that public awareness may have some advantages. Kirn and Burghardt (2011, 76) have argued attention drawn to the current state of disrepair and neglect of many of the monuments and memorial landscapes may generate support for their protection and preservation. However, Kirn (2014) and others, like Kulić (2018), also caution that if the popular interest is driven by a formalist understanding of 'art as autonomous space' the social function of the monuments and the complex role they play in political discourse may be further denied. Kulić himself notes in a postscript (2018) that it may have been the publicity generated by projects such as *Spomenik* that prompted the Museum of Modern Art in New York to express interest in the architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia, ultimately leading to his role as co-curator for a major exhibition in 2018. He concludes, however, that the show was in part conceived to address and remedy the misrepresentations he criticises.

The focus on *Spomenik* as isolated objects neglects one of the most remarkable aspects of the monuments found in the monograph, namely the interplay between sculptural intervention and landscape (Sekulić 2019). Landscapes in this new photographic trend are rendered incomprehensible as sites of atrocity and violence. Their beauty is perceived as incongruous, static; they are 'in the middle of nowhere' or generically situated in the 'nether regions of the Balkans' (Surtees 2013). The landscapes, like the monuments, are presented as void of meaning, emptied of anti-Fascist content or any content at all and reduced to visual aesthetics. In a 2013 review of an exhibition of Kempenaer's monograph in London in 2013, the arts correspondent for the Guardian newspaper, Joshua Surtees, describes the monuments in relation to the landscapes in which they were photographed:

> Erected in tranquil fields in the middle of nowhere, Spomeniks…look like alien landings, crop circles…At odds with the surrounding farmhouses and hills, their beauty lies in their misaligned locations. Concrete structures lost in natural landscapes, they are conspicuously out of place.

The connection between the monument and its conflict landscape is rent; they are no longer co-constitutive of a commemorative function, but rendered so as to be set in conflict with one another. The sites are decontextualized, and as the monuments are relegated to autonomous objects and cultural artefacts, they too are no longer connected to the social practices of the lived experience of the Socialist past, the memory politics of the present, nor any projected future.[93]

The interest in select aspects of Yugoslav monuments, and the related (dis)interest in their corresponding landscapes, generated through the heterogeneous forms of their destruction and various appropriations, are reflective of dynamic and paradoxical conditions. The recent revival of interest has actually served to decontextualize the sites or even repress their meanings: on the one hand nationalist and ethno-religious sentiment led to partial destruction and re-configuration during and immediately following the 1990s, with conflict, and on the other, the orientalising aestheticizing gaze has sought the abstract object exclusively, ignoring sites and social meanings. Indeed, this may reflect as some suggest, that the *Spomenik* are serving their primary function, that is, to engage successive generations in debates over

[93] Collaborative scholarly initiatives and activist projects have recently been formed to counter this revisionism and aim to help preserve the monuments physically and as 'the repositories of memory, not only of the events they originally commemorated, but also of the lived experience of socialism' (Kulić 2018). Examples include: Heroes We Love (https://heroeswelove.wordpress.com) in particular the international conference Socialist Monuments and Modernism 2015 organised by Lana Lovrenčić and Tihana Pupovac; the regional research platform (In)appropriate Monuments (https://inappropriatemonuments.org/en/) founded in 2015; and the artists and theoreticians known as *Grupa Spomenik* (Monument Group) who continue to create public spaces for political and critical discussion, debate and analysis of the conflicts in the 1990s (https://grupaspomenik.wordpress.com). See also the work of the Dubrovnik photographer Borko Vukosav and his photo series *Used to Be* (2016) as a counterpoint to Kampenaer's work and the collective and multidisciplinary project of the *Virtual Museum Dotriščina* by Saša Šimpraga (2012-2017).

their significance, rather than to embody permanent, inflexible meanings (Foote and Azaryahu 2007, 7; Ashplant et al. 2001; Marcuse 2001; Young 1992). I have argued through this section that sites may be reinterpreted many times, with each generation responding to and finding different meanings and controversies over aspects of the past and the corresponding political interests and ideological perspectives. Others may suggest as Tilley has (2017) that technology, as a tool, actively mediates an embodied relationship with the landscape and serves as an extension of the body. Tools may 'extend our sensorimotor capacities out from the body and into the setting of the world' and in the process our 'perception and understanding may be materially extended' (Tilley 2017, 8). The agency of things, like the internet, may consist of their ability to mediate human actions, however, one cannot assume that this mediation necessarily leads to an extension of material understanding, but may also inhibit or interfere with that understanding. In the case of the *Spomenik* phenomenon, the use of the internet and mass media has meant that participation in their 'reorientation' has become globalised.

Commemorative places with meanings that cross international borders and require negotiations among nations that were once enemies have geo-political implications and as such, their dynamic and unsettled status is amplified. Sites such as Jasenovac and Vukovar continue to raise important issues for how public memory and commemoration are expressed in the contemporary memory politics of Croatia (Milošević 2017; Milošević and Touquet 2018). These issues include perspectives and debates concerning the legitimacy of national commemorations for both the Second World War and the conflicts of the 1990s, along with their relationship to EU memory politics as part of the Europeanisation process.

2.6 Conclusion

In order to advance two key claims, this chapter has approached the processes and performances of memory ascribed to and inscribed in Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav landscapes across two historical periods. With a focus on the spatial, locational, and material patterns and dynamics of mnemonic practices, this chapter has sought to trace the social constructions of public memory in landscapes that act as the interface where the past is represented in the present, shaped by economic, social, cultural, political and ideological contexts (Foote 1988; 1990). Of particular note have been the many invented traditions of memory relating to World War Two and the individuals and groups who shaped, selectively embellished, sacralised and mythologised versions of events, people and landscape memory places over time, often, but not exclusively, for political ends (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988).

The first argument is that Socialist period memorial landscapes, their representations and interpretations, although historically particular, present an enduring legacy for the various actors and heterogeneous memorialisation practices of subsequent periods. Despite the relative control of the post-war narrative

held by the Communist Party under Tito, which expressed hegemonic relations of power and authority, a key continuity can be found in the presence of multiple voices in (re)shaping commemorative landscapes. These actors may narrate and conduct their own projects of memory and memorial reclamation including the creation of their own 'countermemories of destruction' (Herscher 2010, 115) opposed to the official memories of war. Engagement with memorial sites here, as always, is imbricated in dynamic social relations and is deeply political. The second argument contends that although after the violent collapse of Yugoslavia, the cultural meanings associated with time and place reflected in these relationships share continuities and discontinuities with the Socialist period, sites associated with the war in the 1990s 'carry their own political and social charge' (Bender 2002a, *S*104) resisting static interpretations and experiences of memory and landscape. These landscapes reflect that neither place nor memory remain static, but rather, are 'plastic and mutually dependent' (Paludan-Müller 2015, 261). The two case study chapters that follow focus on alternate sources of vitality and dissension in contrasting landscapes unsettled by diverse memory practices that respond to their landscape condition.

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Chapter 3
The Plitvice Lakes National Park: 'Bloody Easter' and the Burden of Landscape

A waterfall is a waterfall is a waterfall. Its appearance and significance, look and meaning, become identical, whereas usually they are separate and have to be brought together by the one who is looking and questioning. Beauty's revelation is this fusion. Such a fusion changes one's spatial sense, or, rather, changes one's sense of Being in space.

John Berger, *And Our Faces, My Heart, Brief as Photos*.[1]

In that deserted, unearthly landscape, on the empty road, in the sky with its bright, sharp moon, the men's wolf howl, the boat standing by the road, in that nocturnal journey through my homeland, I sense madness (real madness was yet to come), that silence when everything stiffens in anticipation of the first shot.

Dubravka Ugrešić, *The Culture of Lies*.[2]

[1] (Berger 1991, 51).
[2] (Ugrešić 1995, 7).

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the material, spatial and temporal aspects that impact the state-driven commemorative practices enacted in a remarkable landscape in the historically contested *Krajina* region between Croatia and Bosnia Herzegovina. It explores the role the landscape of the Plitvice Lakes National Park (*Plitvička Jezera Nacionalni Park*) plays as a kind of 'contact zone' between present and past, and the site-specificity of the practices that construct the cultural memory of a single historical event [Figure 3.1].[3] I argue that as a traumatic site, this landscape affords certain highly specific possibilities and constraints for its conception as a heroic commemorative site. I consider the positioning of a memorial sculpture, the Jović memorial, within a landscape that is itself valued as a natural monument, and I find that this positioning would compromise the official imperative to remember the violence that occurred here were it not historicised or relativised by survivors and others annually in a commemorative event.

As the oldest and largest national park in the Republic of Croatia the Plitvice Lakes has historically held significant strategic, economic, and cultural value, and since its inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1979, that value can also be claimed to be universal.[4] The Plitvice Lakes are a series of sixteen cascading lakes and waterfalls in a valley between the beech and fir-forested Dinaric mountains of central Croatia [Figures 3.2 and 3.3] [Figure 3.4]. The continuous hydrogeological process of travertine formation creates the *tufa* barriers that form the lakes and create the cascades. The water is enriched with dissolved carbonates that settle on the bottom of the lakes and tributaries. As a result of morphological, biological, and chemical factors, the calcites deposited on all organic matter make the tufa dams appear as chalk white under the distinctive clear blue-green water [Figures 3.5a - 3.5c and 3.6a – 3.6d].[5]

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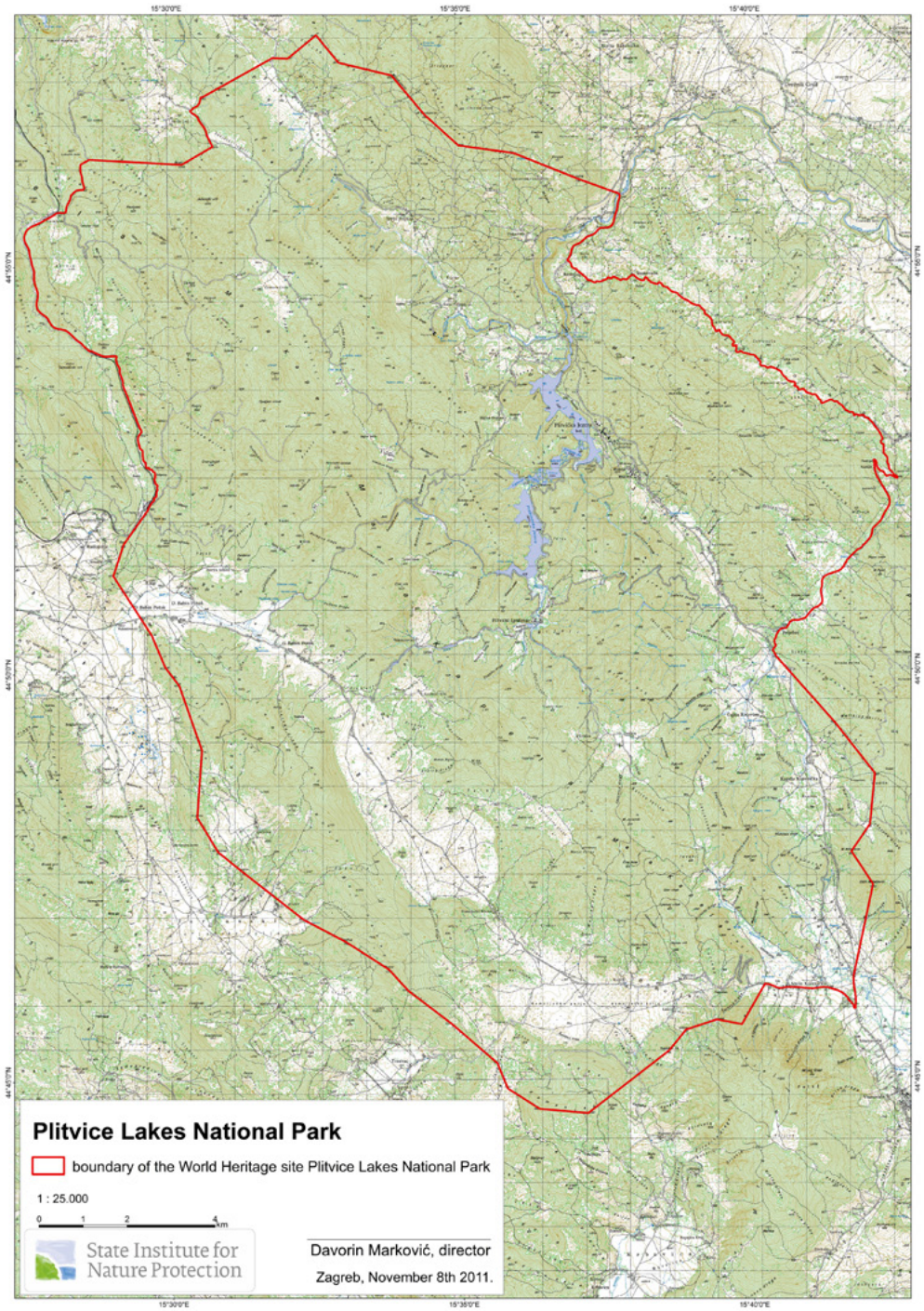
[3] Mary Louise Pratt (1991) introduced the concept of 'contact zone' to refer to social places (understood geographically) and spaces (understood ethnographically) as sites where two or more cultures meet and negotiate each other. The term is used widely in cultural and postcolonial studies with particular focus on border cities. For my purpose I use 'contact zone' to refer to the (potential) meeting and interaction of heterogeneous perspectives on landscape, the national park and the memory of Bloody Easter 1991. My use is more akin to the 'contact zone' described by Assmann (2009, 158-159) as concrete place in which 'the barrier between the past and present unexpectedly collapses, and sudden and unpremeditated transitions can unwittingly occur.'

[4] The Plitvice Lakes area is on the UNESCO Register of World Natural Heritage for its 'outstanding universal value' [Report of the Rapporteur on the World Heritage Committee. CC-79/Conf.003/13]. For a discussion on the effects of the reframing of selected parks as a 'heritage of mankind' and their inclusion under the governance architecture of UNESCO see the contributions in (Gissibl et al. 2012).

[5] Monographs on the natural formation of Plitvice date from 1903. Since then investigations have been ongoing as to the biodynamic interaction that cause the characteristic blue green quality of the water in its lakes. See for example: (Emeis et al. 1987). The Plitvice Lakes Biological stations were opened in 1961 followed by the construction of the Ivo Pevalek Scientific Research Centre in 1975 (a new centre was opened in 2003). Named after the earth science academic who discovered the aquatic mass of algae were key factors in the formation of the lake's geomorphology. He was instrumental in lobbying for a National Park designation in 1928. Scientific study and hydrological monitoring are ongoing with research increasingly arguing for the protection of the dynamic and specifically local conditions that are sensitive to environmental stress. Attempts to protect this phenomenon can be traced to publications from the early 20th century. For a review see (Horvatinčić, N., et al. 2006). For a historical perspective on the development of the lakes as national park see (Brlić and Bušljeta Tonković 2017).



3.1 Plitvice Lakes National Park, Map of UNESCO inscribed property: Plitvice Lakes National Park, Croatia. State Institute for Nature Protection. Davorin Marković (2011). Scale: 1:25000. Retrieved from UNESCO https://whc. unesco. org/en/list/98/ multiple=1&unique_number=106 [accessed 26 November 2017].

3.2 Photomechanical print, *Pletvicerseen* (Plitvice Lake), Ermitensee, Croatia, Austro-Hungary ca. 1890-1900: Retrieved from the Library of Congress www.loc.gov/item/2002710744 [accessed: 2 June 2019].

3.3 'Situations Plan' (*Sieben Seen*) Plan and lake profile 1880: Croatian State Archives, Zagreb. [HR-HAD DX11 10].

3.4 Austro-Hungarian Josephenian Survey Map of Plitvice Lakes showing twelve Upper Lakes (*Gornja jezera*) and four Lower Lakes (*Donja jezera*), Part of New Demarcation Terrain' (*Theil von neüen Demarcations Terrein*), ca. 1791: Croatian State Archives, Zagreb. [HR-HDA-BI4.]

3.5a Travertine formation on a lake bottom: Plitvice Lakes National Park Lika-Senj county Croatia, 29 October 2016.

3.5b The clear blue-green water Plitvice Lakes: Plitvice Lakes National Park Lika-Senj county Croatia, 30 March 2017.

3.5c The falls and tufa rocks at Lake Galovac: Plitvice Lakes National Park Lika-Senj county Croatia, 29 October 2016.

3.6a The distinctive clear blue-green water of the Plitvice Lakes: Plitvice Lakes National Park Lika-Senj county Croatia, 30 March 2017.

3.6b Plitvice Lakes water near the electric ferry launch: Plitvice Lakes National Park, 30 March 2017.

3.6c The ever-changing morphology of water and karst: Plitvice Lakes National Park, 30 March 2017.

3.6d Waterfall spray, Plitvice Lakes National Park: Plitvice Lakes National Park, 30 March 2017.

Over thousands of years, the water has worn away the travertine while simultaneously depositing the calcium carbonate that alters and creates new barriers in an ever changing, growing and reducing landscape.

Following the conflict in the 1990s, however, the identity of the park as the site of unique natural phenomena and one of Yugoslavia's most popular tourist attractions was reconfigured. It is now widely acknowledged as the site of the instigation of violence that led to war and the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Josip Jović, a twenty-two-year-old Croatian police officer, considered to be the first casualty of the war, was killed on 31 March 1991 in what came to be called the 'Plitvice incident' or 'Bloody Easter' (*Kravi Uskrs*).[6] A busload of Croatian servicemen was ambushed by Serb paramilitaries who had occupied the park and seized control of the main north-south road connection, an action that would before long effectively sever the republic in half [Figure 3.7].[7] Jović was killed and nine other officers were injured in the gunfire that followed the confrontation.

A monument now stands at the roadside site of his fatal wounding, near 'Entrance Two *Hladovina*' (Croatian meaning *shade*) to the park, and on the anniversary of his death, local, state, regional, and religious officials come to this memorial to commemorate the official start of the 'War of Independence.' For that one day the site is animated, with its parking lots and restaurants filled with veterans, police officers, members of the armed forces, and more recently the Croatian president, prime minister, and cabinet ministers who now regularly use the park space and the memorial place to make publicly televised speeches during the commemorative service. [8] The park landscape and its accompanying infrastructure mediates this annual mnemonic performance. It appears as though the legacy of the Socialist memorial park is (re)activated, and the site of violence is again vital to the construction and promotion of the current state-sanctioned narratives of the past and future. What I discovered, however, is that the official narrative of youthful sacrifice for an independent Croatia only enlivens the site temporarily.

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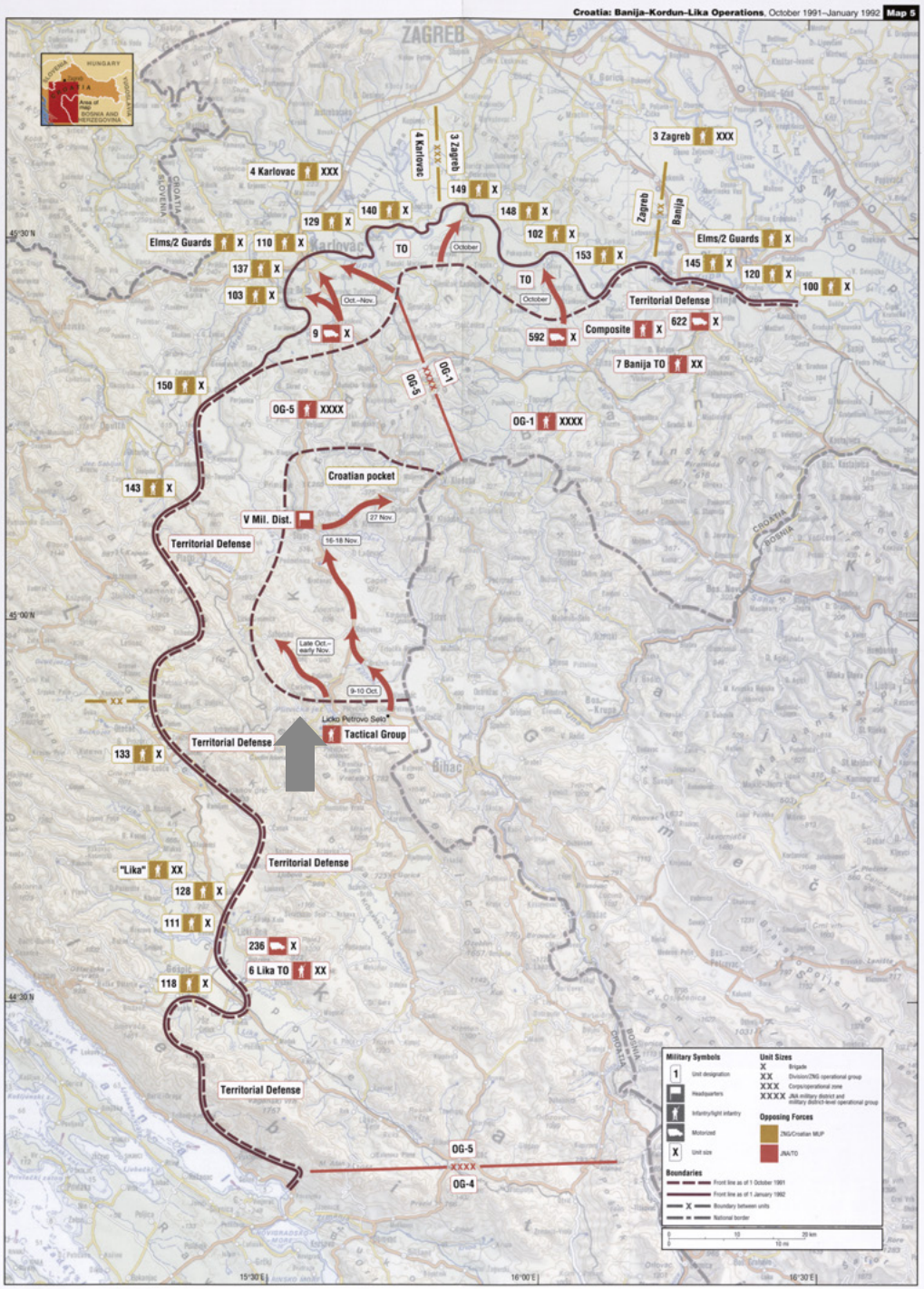
[6] In the English translation on the monument plaques, discussed below, Josip Jović is referred to as 'the first Croatian soldier who died in the struggle for Croatian independence.' The term *Branitelje* (defender) is also used often in the context of the 'Bloody Easter Incident.' The police force was multi-ethnic before the outbreak of war, and the use of the term 'defender' is a post conflict designation used to distinguish the aggressor.

[7] The motorway is the D1 North South road artery that connects Zagreb to the South of the country and its coastal regions.

[8] Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović, the fourth President of Croatia, attended the ceremony annually since her election in 2015. She was the first President to do so although five years previously Jadranka Kosor was the first Prime Minister to attend the ceremony. Each year there has been an increase in national media coverage. See for example, the reporting of Prime Minister Andrej Plenković and President Grabar-Kitarović speaking at the wreath laying ceremony 31 March 2019: https://glashrvatske.hrt.hr/en/news/domestic/ceremony-at-plitvice-lakes-marks-first-death-of-the-homeland-war/ accessed September 2019. Note: on 6 January 2020 the social democratic ex-prime minister Zoran Milanovic narrowly beat the incumbent Grabar-Kitarović of the governing HDZ to win the presidential election. The change in the Presidency may mean a change may also take place in terms of national level attendance at the commemoration; however, given the trend toward national media coverage in the last decade it may be likely for there to be continuity rather than a departure from the ritualised event.



3.7 Regional map showing troop positions, movements and battle-front lines during the conflict 1991-1992, the 'front line' crosses the D1 roadway and *Plitvička Jez*. (an abbreviation for *Jezera* meaning lakes) sits between two battle lines: Adapted from the map collection *Balkan Battlegrounds* 'Croatia: Banija-Kordun-Lika Operations, October 1991-January 1992' United State Central Intelligence Agency. Office of Russian European Analysis (1991). Plitvice Lakes marked with grey arrow

Following the anniversary, the memorial that marks the authentic site of trauma recedes into the background, and the landscape's reputation as a natural monument is (re)invoked as a national symbol of a distinctly European-aligned identity. Paradoxically, then, the landscape both obscures and enhances the function of the memorial as a heroic commemorative site.

The case study is organised into three sections followed by a chapter conclusion. The first situates the park in relation to its historic borderland context with a particular focus on its role in the early stages of the war in the 1990s. The second provides a more detailed exploration of the choreography and mise-en-scène of the annual official commemorations at the Josip Jović memorial in the park with an emphasis on the authentic and staged elements at the traumatic site. The remaining section considers the landscape from multiple perspectives including those of local people who work in the park and whose lives have revolved around it before, during and after the 1990s conflict, tourists who engage with the park as picturesque site and the official institutions that alternately enhance the park and the memorial according to the mnemonic calendar for the commemoration of the Homeland War.

3.2 The Plitvice Lakes and the *Krajina* Borderland

Yugoslavia as a federation had collapsed in constitutional, political, and economic terms before the outbreak of war early in 1991.[9] The international community had observed the rising tensions since the late 1980s, although formal warning was not issued to the The Yugoslav People's Army (the JNA), then one of Europe's largest armies, that military action against individual republics would not be tolerated. Concern that there would be violent consequences grew as Slovenia and Croatia signalled their intentions to declare their independence and as the leadership of the JNA grew increasingly committed to pursuing military means to defend the SFRJ as a unitary state (Hodge 2019). The federal party effectively ceased to exist two weeks after its (last) assembly in January 1990, at which point the Slovenian party left the League of Communists, having failed to secure a majority for their proposed constitutional amendments for a looser confederation, and as Milošević in Belgrade countered with proposals for tightening the federation (Lampe 2000, 354-355; Ramet 1992, 238-51). Federal structures were weakened further with the collapse an economic reform programme designed to manage Yugoslavia's foreign debt.[10] The federal

[9]Academic debate and disputes regarding the events, key actors, and explanations of the disintegration of Yugoslavia continue across disciplines. Within the last decade the research produced has varied from encyclopaedic histories of conflict (Hall 2014) to PhD theses on the role of individual political elites (Hayball 2015). For critical surveys and reviews of the research on the causes of conflict and the break-up of Yugoslavia see: (Jovic 2001); (Ramet 2005) and (Wachtel and Bennet 2009).

[10] The programme of reforms was introduced by Ante Markovic, the head of the Federal Executive Council and the League's last prime minister. See Andrejevich (1990) and transcripts of testimony by Ante Markovic at the Milosevic trial. Milosevic: 'Kosovo, Croatia and Bosnia Herzegovina' ICTY-IT-02-53, October 23, 2003, pp: 28012-3.

party had little leverage, outside of the JNA, with which to control the predominantly rural Croat-Serb clashes that flared in Dalmatia in the summer of 1989 (Lampe 2000).

The failure to galvanise support for a country-wide party and the inability of the Communist leadership of the various republics to agree on the questions in a proposed referendum led to multi-party elections in all republics in April-May 1990, setting the political stage for the country's disintegration the following year.[11] In the Socialist Republic of Croatia the longstanding multinational party, the League of Communists of Croatia (Savez komunista Hrvatske [SKH]), lost to the Croatian Democratic Community (*Hrvatska demokratska zajednica* [HDZ]). The HDZ party leader, former Yugoslav general and historian Franjo Tudjman, ran a campaign that was committed to building an independent Croatian state. Following the HDZ victory and his election as president of Croatia, he began to develop policies and take actions that moved in this direction, including the drafting of a new constitution.[12]

The corresponding party among Croatia's Serbs was the newly formed Serbian Democratic Party (*Srpska demokratska stranka* [SDS]). The party established itself as the main political force among Serbs in Croatia, particularly in the regions collectively known as the 'Krajina,' where they formed significant proportions of the population, including those regions along the old Habsburg Military frontier: North Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun and Banija and parts of Slavonia (Hayball 2016) [Figure 3.8].[13] In parallel with the Croatian desire for independence, which grew over the course of 1990 and 1991, the SDS would increasingly pressure the main Serb-populated regions, like those around the Plitvice Lakes, to secede from the Croatian state in order to 'remain' in Yugoslavia with the Republic of Serbia.

[11] Slovenia and Croatia declared independence a day apart in June 1991 and with the collapse of Lord Carrington's plan for a loose confederation in mid-October that year, the Bosnian parliament voted to declare Bosnia a 'sovereign republic' (Hodge 2019). Close analysis of the complex factors leading to hostilities in 1991 including the much-studied impact of the elections is found in (Lampe 2000, 359); (Magas 1993); (Ramet 2002; 2005); (Silber and Little 1997); (Woodward 1995) and (Goldstein 1999).

[12] Although the new HDZ government did not conduct an independence referendum until May 1991, the HDZ media campaign promoted the message of 'Croatia for Croatians only.' Slogans such as these, although moderated once Tudjman had been elected president, 'encouraged the excesses of local supporters and returning emigres' (Lampe 2000, 360). They forced Serbs out of local police forces and administrative and enterprise roles in areas 'where the Serbs were most concentrated, along the old Habsburg Military Border,' and such extensive dismissals seemed to confirm the worst local fears (Ibid.).

[13] There is a rich interdisciplinary dialogue on eastern Europe and borders. See for example Newman (2006); the borderland literature of (Donnan and Wilson 1994; 1999; 2005; 2010); within the Balkan context (Bjelić and Savić 2002) and theoretical disputes of European borders, boundaries and margins (Parker, 2008).

3.8 Territorial changes in Krajina territories during Operation Storm (*Oluja*) 4-8 August 1995, the Plitvice Lakes (*Plitvicka Jezera*) were 'liberated' on the second day (*Plitvicka Jezera*). Adapted from the map collection Balkan Battlegrounds 'Croatia: Operation Oluja, 4-8 August 1995' United State Central Intelligence Agency. Office of Russian European Analysis (1991).

In the final months of 1990 the political polarisation between the HDZ and SDS was further compounded by failed attempts to agree on draft proposals for cultural autonomy and by strong Serb opposition to the new constitution passed on 22 December 1990, in which the Serb nation was no longer recognised as a 'constituent nation,' its constitutional status having been downgraded to a 'minority' like any other. The formal wording of the 1990 constitution defines Croatia as: 'the national state of the Croatian nation and a state of members of other nations and minorities who are its citizens: Serbs, Muslims, Slovenes, Czechs, Slovaks, Italians, Hungarians, Jews and others, who are guaranteed equality with citizens of Croatian nationality and the realization of ethnic rights in accordance with the democratic norms of the United Nations and countries of the free world.' Additionally, Latin was declared the official script and Croatian the official language. Provisions on cultural autonomy and other rights were not enshrined in the constitution and were left to be drafted (and ultimately rejected by Krajina leadership) in future laws.[14] The response of the SDS was the formation of the SAO Krajina (*Srpska autonomna oblast Krajina*, SAOK) under the leadership of Jovan Raskovic and (his eventual replacement) Milan Babić. The SAO was a self-proclaimed, internationally unrecognised, proto-state that militarised over the following months and established a number of paramilitary militia units under the command of Milan Martić, the former police chief in Knin, which became the 'capital' of SAOK, just over an hour's drive south of the Plitvice Lakes National Park [Figure 3.9].[15]

Historically, '*Vojna Krajina*' was the name given to the military frontier of the Austrian empire. The long-contested borderlands have typically been viewed in both scholarly and popular imaginations as either a 'transitional zone, an area of cultural cross-fertilization, or as a site of violent, 'tectonic' civilizational shifts' where powerful symbolic boundaries of 'East and West, Latins and Slavs, Europe and the Balkans and in the 20th century fascism, democracy and communism' converge in the experience of a defensive border (Ballinger 2000). In the eventual delineation of the international frontiers of 1699, the border was drawn up the Korana river to its source in the Plitvice Lakes (lake *Kozjak*). Recent studies of the frontier zones' immensely complicated histories, real and invented, suggest that their legacies have contributed to the difficulties of drawing stable boundaries in the region even after several centuries (Rieber 2000; Roksandić and Štefanec 2000). In the 1990s '*Krajina*' (meaning border) referred to the frontier or borderland of the Serbian-populated regions of North Dalmatia, Eastern Lika, Kordun and Banija and was also used in plural to refer to all 'declared' Serbian regions in Croatia.

[14] *Narodne Novine*, No. 65, 4/12/91.
[15] ICTY-Martić: IT-95-11-PT. D701-D2660. Amended Indictment December 2005.

3.9 Memorial to Josip Jović with glass panels along the path: Plitvice Lakes national park, Croatia, 30 March 2017.

From spring 1991 onwards, armed conflicts increasingly erupted between rebel Serb and Croatian forces in the Krajina regions.[16] The clash between Serb paramilitary units, sent to blockade the roadway and occupy the Plitvice Lakes National Park, and the Croatian special police units sent to eject them, would result in the first officially acknowledged death of a Croatian combatant.[17] The park was recognised by both the Croatian authorities in Zagreb and the SDS in *Krajina* as an immediate strategic asset and a source of future revenue generation for the state that would eventually control it (Silber and Little 1997). Indeed, the order to send police units to recapture the park that came from Tudjman in Zagreb, was emphatic: the Serb rebels 'must not take the park.'[18] It was after the Plitvice incident that the SDS leadership declared *Krajina*'s annexation to Serbia (Hayball 2015, 182) and the landscape of the Plitvice Lakes came to be a fault-line in the conflict. The occupation of the park would become widely recognised as the first aggressive act in the four years of conflict that would follow. The park thus became an important symbolic site of heroic sacrifice, and the preservation and survival of the cultural memory of violent struggle for an independent Croatia.[19]

[16] In the Spring of 1991 early incidents in Croatia other than Plitvice were in Pakrac (western Slavonia) and in Borovo Selo (eastern Slavonia) mentioned above. The JNA was not directly involved in the Plitvice incident as it only began to intervene (initially to allegedly prevent such clashes) in the following months. By September 1991, however, the situation was one of open war between Croatian forces on one side, and rebel Serbs and the JNA on the other (Hayball 2015, 12).

[17] Road blockades effectively cutting off the coastal region from the rest of Croatia were the method by which Serbian rebels began their campaign in Krajina. The action came to be called the '*Log Revolution (Balvan revolucija)*' as trees were felled to obstruct the roads. Note also that Croatian sources testified at the ICTY that this was not the first use of force, and they acknowledged that they had sent special forces towards Knin just before this period (Hayball 2015, 147). Ultimately the park was reoccupied and the hotels in the park came to serve as barracks for the Krajina Serb militias until their defeat in the 1995 four-day Croatian military action known as Operation Storm (*Oluja*) that liberated over 10,000 square kilometres (18.4 percent of Croatia) after peace negotiations to reintegrate the Krajina territory failed (Pavlaković 2011).

[18] Translated speech of Stjepan Cifrek, now a retired officer of the Croatian Armed Forces who was in command the day of the Plitvice incident and received the order from Tudjman by telephone to 'recapture' the police station and D1 motorway. Fieldnote Josip Jović memorial, PLNP, 31 March 2017.

[19] As a reflection of the symbolic status of Josip Jović a police academy, an elementary school, and local football tournament are also named in his honour. Jović was also posthumously promoted to the rank of Major General and awarded multiple military orders. Interestingly, for interlocutors interviewed in Eastern Slavonia (the border region between Croatia and Serbia), the events in the Plitvice Lakes were identified as significant; however, the armed clash that was more often remarked on as an escalation in violence was the more local 'Borovo Selo massacre' (*Pokolj u Borovom Selu*) or as it is known in Serbia the 'Borovo Selo incident' (Инцидент у Боровом Селу). On 2 May 1991, a month after the death of Jović, twelve Croatian police officers were killed and twenty-one were wounded in an ambush. One Serb paramilitary was killed and four were wounded. The confrontation was instigated by the unauthorised and failed attempt to replace a Yugoslav for a Croatian flag in the predominantly ethnic Serb village on the right bank of the Danube. Borolo Selo was barricaded (in part with agricultural machinery) on 1 April 1991, the day after the Plitvice incident and following the death of the police officers. The Presidency of Yugoslavia (Federal Yugoslav government) agreed to deploy the JNA to the area in an attempt to prevent further conflict, but this proved unsuccessful. See: Hoare (2010) and Ramet (2006). A memorial site was established by three Croatian non-governmental organisations to mark the deaths of the police officers during the 1996-98 UN regional administration pursuant to the Erdut Agreement (1995). As a reflection of persistent tensions at the site, the initial memorial erected on public property was soon vandalised as was its replacement in 2002 as well as the plaque that bore the names of the twelve Croatian policemen added to the monument in 2012 (Pullan and Baillie 2013). For an analysis of the relationship between the Borovo Selo event and the nearby Yugoslav era Dudik memorial park see (Baillie 2020).

3.3 The Josip Jović Memorial: Authentic Sites, Performance, and Stagecraft

The memorial to Josip Jović is a finely hewn granite column without capital, broken at its tip. It stands sheathed in reflective metal from its base to over half of its three-metre height, and is inscribed simply with his name and four identifying phrases: police officer, Easter 1991, first killed defender, Republic of Croatia [Figure 3.10a].[20] In its contrast to the dense woods the monument is distinctive in its material. The classic form of the column is incomplete, its ragged upper edge standing as a poetic signal that something noble has been diminished.[21] A small sign nearby points to the wooded rise where the column stands among the trees. Similar sized signs direct visitors to the post office opposite, a restaurant, a parking lot, and the access road used for park maintenance. The signposts do little to distinguish between the utilitarian amenities and the memorial. The aesthetic coherence of the national park signage seems to supersede the significant difference between a post office and a charged memorial site. [Figure 3.11]. A path of flagstone and timber logs constructed in 2017 begins behind the bus stop on the D1 state highway and gently slopes upward toward the column [Figure 3.12].[22] The girth of the memorial is much like that of the beech trees that encircle it; in shade it can easily be lost in the parallel lines of the forest behind. The story of the conflict and the circumstances of Jović's death are etched in Croatian and English onto glass panels suspended from curved wooden posts along the path, which resemble the curved timbers framing the hull of a boat. The narrative of Croatian victim and Serb aggressor is clearly expressed, although requires close attention; the words on the transparent glass become illegible against the contrasting light and dark of the woods beyond [Figure 3.13].[23]

[20] In Croatian the inscription reads: *Josip Jović, Uskrs 1991, Prvi Poginuli Branitelj, Republike Hrvatske.* Translation author's own.

[21] 'Sliced' columns have been used as an architectural motif elsewhere in Yugoslav memorial landscapes mostly notably by the Slovenian architect Edvard Ravnikar (1907-1993) in his design for the Memorial Complex at Kampor on the island of Rab (1953), built to commemorate the Slovenes and Croats interned in an Italian concentration camp during World War II. See the architectural analysis of the complex at Kampor by (Curtis 2004; 2010). See also the discussion on the use of monumental forms in the architectural strategies of socialist commemoration in (Kulić 2014, 53-61). [Figure 3.10b].

[22] The path was resurfaced one week before the memorial service in March 2017. See local media outlet praising the construction's completion in time to 'honour' Jović in the upcoming anniversary: http://likaplus.hr/plitvicka_j-korenica/zivot/ureden_okolis_kod_spomenika_josipu_jovicu/default.aspx [accessed 12 January 2020]. Translation author's own.

[23] This is in contrast to the SFRY era practice discussed in Chapter Two whereby the monument texts obfuscated the ethnicity of both victim and aggressor to construct an all Yugoslav identity. The Croatian national discourse on post-war memory is framed and officially defined by the Croatian Declaration on the Homeland War (*Deklaracija o Domovinskom Ratu*) in 2000: 'The Republic of Croatia led a just and legitimate, defensive and liberating war, which was not an aggressive and occupational war against anyone, in which she defended her territory from the great Serb aggressor within her internationally recognised borders.'

3.10a Josip Jović memorial designed by architect Branko Silajin with memorial inscription day before the anniversary 2017: Plitvice Lakes National Park, 30 March 2017.

3.10b Memorial complex at Kampor, Rab, designed by Edvard Ravnikar (1952-53). View towards the north west and sea, with 'sliced columns' in the foreground. Kampor, Rab (now in Slovenia). Photo: Vladimir Braco-Mušić in (Curtis 2010, 33).

3.11 Plitvice Lakes National Park signage for the Josip Jović *Spomenik* and the Ivo Pevalek scientific research centre. Plitvice Lakes, 1 April 2017.

3.12 Prepared paths the day after the memorial service for Jović's death: Plitvice Lakes National Park, 1 April 2017.

3.13 Josip Jović memorial information plaques: Plitvice Lakes National Park, Lika-Senj county, Croatia, 29 October 2016.

The monument has a liminal position on the edge between tarmac and forest. With the wooded parkland and the famous upper lakes behind, the inscription faces the parking lot of the seasonal post office designed by Radovan Nikšić in 1961 [Figures 3.14a – 3.14d]. The marginal location and modest architectural and sculptural treatment seem at odds with the attention the monument receives annually and the significance it is assigned in the heroic official narrative. It is on the occasion of the anniversary of the Plitvice incident that one begins to understand the practicality of the orientation of the monument to the *non-lieu* of the parking lot.[24] The road surface and parking lot space accommodates the large crowds, TV crews, journalists and photographers on the 31st of March, with the overflow of attendees spilling out into the trees that surround the monument [Figure 3.15].[25] The space allows for the annual procession of memory 'activists,' the various spokespeople for memory communities, to approach the monument and perform their ritual acts of remembrance.[26] For the last decade the service has followed a series of customary practices: the Jović family members, local school children, representatives of municipal and national government, police, and military and veteran associations lay wreaths and candles in succession at the foot of the column, followed by prayers and political speeches [Figure 3.16a – 3.16c].[27] The anniversary is also the occasion for the political elite and the religious authority of the Catholic Church to represent themselves. [28]

[24] The neologism *non-lieux* (non-places) was coined by anthropologist Marc Augé to refer to homogenised places such as parking lots, international airports, and superstores as spaces of circulation, consumption and communication in which transitory occupants experience the illusion of being 'always, and never, at home' (Augé [1992] 2009, 109). I use the term here to describe the ambiguous status of the parking lot in relation to the memorial discussed below.

[25] The Croatian television and radio station, *Glas Hrvatske - Hrvatski Radio* (HRT) estimated that a thousand people attended the anniversary on 31 March 2019. https://glashrvatske.hrt.hr/en/news/domestic/ceremony-at-plitvice-lakes-marks-first-death-of-the-homeland-war/.

[26] Assmann (2016, 198) defines this term as people who use forms of public discourse appropriate for their community to ensure that a 'certain memory will be taken up in long-term memory.' Anniversaries, such as the death of Jović, are occasions to reactivate and renew a memory, to turn individual memory into collective commemoration.

[27] Political representatives attending the memorial service in 2017 included: the President of the Republic Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović, the Speaker of the Croatian Parliament Božo Petrov, the Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister Damir Krstičević, the Minister of the Interior Vlaho Orepić, the Minister of the Veterans' Affairs Tomo Medved, the Chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Armed Forces General Mirko Šundov and the Chief of Police Director Marko Srdarević, members of the Croatian Armed Forces, the Ministry of the Interior, representatives of local government and PLNP management. Following the wreath and candle laying the Croatian Military Ordinary, Mons. Jure Bogdan led all in attendance in a prayer to 'the fallen Jović' and 'all other Croatian defenders.' In comparison, in 2010 wreaths were laid 'on behalf of' the Government by the Prime Minister Jadranka Kosor, 'on behalf of' the Croatian Parliament by Ivan Jarnjak and 'on behalf of' President of Republic, by the Chief of General Staff General Josip Lucić. See: The Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Croatia (*MOD*) https://www.morh.hr/en/19th-anniversary-of-plitvice-action-commemorated/ [Accessed 12 December 2019]. Author's own translation.

[28] See Schaüble (2011; 2014) for an analysis of the role of the Franciscan order in commemorative events (that fuse memories of WWII and the Homeland war) in Croatian-Bosnian border regions.

3.14a View of the D1 bus stop and path leading behind to the Jović memorial hours before the memorial ceremony. Plitvice Lakes National Park, Lika-Senj county, Croatia, 30 March 2017.

3.14b View of the post office from the D1 roadway: Plitvice Lakes National Park, Lika-Senj county, Croatia, 30 March 2017.

3.14c View of the post office and its tarmac opposite to the Jović memorial, designed by Radovan Nikšić in 1961: Plitvice Lakes National Park, Lika-Senj county, Croatia, 29 October 2016.

3.14d View of the bus stop from the Jović memorial. Plitvice Lakes National Park, Lika-Senj county, Croatia, 29 October 2016.

3.15 Attendees wait for the Croatian state delegation at the 2017 ceremony: The Josip Jović memorial. Plitvice Lakes National Park, Lika-Senj county, Croatia, 31 March 2017.

3.16a Kolinda Grabar-Katarović the President of the Republic at the Jović memorial service 2017: Plitvice Lakes National Park, Lika-Senj county, Croatia, 31 March 2017. Photo: J. Kopi. Croatian Ministry of Defense (MORH), 3 April 2017 press release '26th Anniversary of the Plitvice Lakes incident and death of Josip Jović.'

3.16b The Deputy Prime Minister and Minster of Defense Damir Krstičević and the Minister of Veterans' Affairs Tomo Medved and others in attendance at the Memorial Monument: Plitvice Lakes, 31 March 2017. Photo: S. Briglević (MORH) 3 April 2017 press release.

3.16c Veterans in front of the post office opposite the Jović memorial: Plitvice Lakes, Croatia, 31 March 2017. Photo: S. Briglević (MORH) 3 April 2017 press release.

The liturgical commemoration at the memorial involves (if not requires) participation and interactivity in performative acts of recollection. Senior members of the Church lead all those assembled in prayer and they speak of the past building on a broad and long tradition of imagery about the dreams of independence and visions of a sustained and hard-won peace [Figure 3.16d – 3.16e].[29] As the annually repeated ceremony re-embodies and reactivates the past, the past is woven into the present through 'performative acts of return' generating the possibility of a new collective experience (Connerton 2009). The acts of repetition, writes Connerton, automatically imply continuity with the past (Connerton 1989, 45) but as Assmann points out, the 'what' and the 'how' of repetition must be understood in terms of its frameworks (Assmann 2016). The affective framework which produces the 'where' of the repetition also holds significance.

On the occasion of the twenty-eighth anniversary of the clash in Plitvice, the Prime Minister Andrej Plenkovic identified Easter 1991 as a pivotal time, and Plitvice as an officially recognized site of personal trauma and of endured suffering, and a symbolic marker of a collective identity born from sacrifice.[30]

> It was here, on Easter 1991, that Plitvice marked the path by which Croatia had to reach for its freedom and independence. This sacrifice of all Croatian defenders is woven into the freedom of Croatia and the independence of the Homeland, in its path to democracy, prosperity and development. It is a strong and crucial obligation of all those who perform different duties in Croatia today to work together to create the conditions for a better quality of life for all who live in Croatia. Without Croatia's defenders there would be no state, no institutions, no freedom, nor membership in the EU or NATO.[31]

As is the case with traditional commemorative sites, Jović as a role model is commemorated in the service of an edification of the present.[32] The site, the victim and the memory are all historical elements assigned an ideological use that situates the past within a particular context.[33] Prime Minister Plenkovic links the conflict to Croatia's contemporary political condition and its European and international associations. In this narrative of 'pathways' to the location of the event contributes directly to the current national project.

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[29] Fieldnote 31 March 2017.
[30] Quotation attributed to Prime Minister Andrej Plenkovic at the 28th anniversary of the 'Plitvice Action.' County level news outlet http://likaplus.hr/plitvicka_j-korenica/zivot/obiljezena_28_godisnjica_pogibije_jovica/default.aspx. Author's own translation.
[31] *Večernji List* 31 March 2017. https://m.vecernji.hr/vijesti/josip-jovic-bio-je-prvi-medu-jednakima-koji-je-dao-zivot-za-hrvatsku-1160042.
[32] (Assmann 2016, 187).
[33] The *use* of history in this context is based on the form broadly defined by Klas-Göran Karlsson as being '…when aspects of a historical culture are activated in a communicative process in order for certain groups to satisfy certain needs or look after certain interests.' See: (Sindbæk 2012, 15) who stresses that in Karlsson's terminology the use of history need not be exclusively abuse or misuse, rather, Klas-Göran's approach 'emphasises the functions that articulation of history have in society' and that there are multiple ways of 'using history.' This diversity was made evident in the context of Yugoslav memory politics analysed in Chapter Two.

3.16d Stjepan Cifrek speaking of his experience of the 'Bloody Easter' event at the Jović memorial service 2017: Plitvice Lakes, Croatia, 31 March 2017. Photo: S. Briglević (MORH) 3 April 2017 press release.

3.16e The Croatian Military Ordinary, Mons. Jure Bogdan and other members of the Catholic Church: Plitvice Lakes National Park, Lika-Senj county, Croatia, 31 March 2017. Photo: J. Kopi. Croatian Ministry of Defense (MORH), 3 April 2017 press release.

At the same anniversary event, the Croatian President Grabar-Kitarovic's only reference to the localised dimension of memory was claiming that Tudjman's decision to send Croatian police officers 'here' that day was to prevent 'anyone from tearing Croatian territory apart.'[34]

In these discursive representations, the memorial within its setting in the park does not register as a singular site, but rather as a space which refers to the present and future of Croatian territory in the abstract.[35] In this view Plitvice is a space that can be formed and reformed for nationalist historiography, where endured suffering can be cast in a positive light and capable of fostering a collective identity. Much like the address by Plenkovic, the annual speech of Grabar-Kitarović focused on converting the memory of the historical event (which was only a temporary victory) into an affirmative message.[36] In 2019 Grabar-Kitarović equated the ultimate sacrifice made by Jović with the expectations for the young in the present: 'just as an entire generation defended this country twenty-eight years ago by fighting for an independent Croatia, today's generation has an equally difficult task: to build a Croatia full of life and prosperity.'[37] The landscape of the park provides the stage for this martyrological narrative which subordinated the commemoration to contemporary politics.[38] Indeed, as will be discussed below, the public and official memory performances at the Jović monument in the park may even work to marginalise or obscure veteran memory.

[34] *Večernji List* 31 March 2017. https://m.vecernji.hr/vijesti/josip-jovic-bio-je-prvi-medu-jednakima-koji-je-dao-zivot-za-hrvatsku-1160042. Field note 31March 2017.

[35] In the context of Holocaust memorial sites that were part of a national memorial project to join East and West Germany after 1990, Assmann (2016, 186) makes the distinction between 'space' and 'site.' Where space is the dimension that is measured, mapped and structured and concrete sites are individualised through names and histories: 'The concept of space contains a potential for planning that points to the future; by contrast, the concept of site retains a knowledge that refers to the past.

[36] Although the Croatian police regained control of the local Plitvice police station they later had to withdraw, and the park and the surrounding area remained under Serb military control until 'Operation Storm' in August 1995.

[37] HRT 31 March 2019, Nikola Badovinac 'Ceremony at Plitvice Lakes marks first death of Homeland War.' https://glashrvatske.hrt.hr/en/news/domestic/ceremony-at-plitvice-lakes-marks-first-death-of-the-homeland-war/. Authors own translation.

[38] The PLNP had been pressed into nationalist service previously under Tito. The landscape of the park has performed *for* the political elite as a scene for diplomatic engagement and been performed *in*, as military exercises were carried out in the surrounding meadowlands. In 1971 the Plitvice Lakes meadows were used for a military exercise called the 'Freedom 71 Manoeuvres' as a show of capability at a time of rising tensions in the Cold War [Figure 3.18a and 3.18b] after the break with Stalin in 1948 and SFRY political attention was focused on strengthening the Non-Aligned Movement. Tito hosted the President of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser, at the Plitvice Lakes in 1960 [Figure 3.19]. The legacy of Tito's presence in the park can be found in the forest outside of the park boundary in the abandoned Villa Izvor. Used only on occasion by the SFRY elite, graffiti covers the walls with political messages from the conflict in the 1990s including praise for the ICTY indicted Croatian General Ante Gotovina on war crimes charges committed during Operation Storm. He was freed in 2012 when the ICTY overturned his convictions [Figure 3.17]. His release led to nationwide celebrations across Croatia and anger in Serbia. See: *The Guardian* 2012. 'War Crimes Convictions of Two Croatian Generals Overturned.' November 16.

3.17 Graffiti ‘God and Gotovina’ at the abandoned Tito Villa Izvor, Plitvice Lakes, Croatia, 31 March 2017.

3.18a The Plitvice Lakes had served nationalist purposes previously under Tito. In 1971 the meadowlands around the Plitvice Lakes were used for a military exercise called ‘Freedom 71 Manoeuvres’ to demonstrate Yugoslav military capabilities at a time of rising tensions in the Cold War. Final operations at artillery range, observation of firing’ (1971). Museum of the History of Yugoslavia (MIJ), Belgrade. Photo collection: 1971_474_083 [accessed: 3 June 2019].

3.18b Tito observing ‘Freedom 71’ manoeuvres in Plitvice Lakes (1971): MIJ, Belgrade. Photo collection: 1971_474_083 [accessed: 3 June 2019].

3.19 The Plitvice Lakes were also used as political scenery when Tito hosted the President of Egypt in 1960. 'Presidents Tito and Nasser on their way to Croatia and Slovenia: a walk along the shores of the Plitvice Lakes' (1960). President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt was also taken to the 15th anniversary of the Battle of Sutjeska traveling from 'natural monument' to 'national monument.' MIJ, Belgrade. Photo collection: 1960_137_0122 [accessed: 3 June 2019].

Traumatic Landscapes: Narration and Stagecraft

During the course of the memorial service each year, a survivor of the Plitvice incident shares their experience and it is in this stage narrative that the location of the monument is conceptually inverted, from abstract space to concrete and individualised site. At the 2017 service Stjepan Cifrek, now a retired officer of the Croatian Armed Forces, stood at the microphone and speaking in first person gave a chronologically organised narrative of the event with direct reference to the landscape.[39] Cifrek pointed to the section of road where the bus was ambushed and the low ridge where his unit was positioned to return fire. Gesturing over the heads of the assembled crowd he described the challenge of the thick fog that hid karst sinkholes and the deep snow that clung to tree branches, obstructing views and targets. He described the fanned formation of his unit, their movements on the road and in the forest, the sequence of bullets fired and the tactics they used to gain specific ground.[40] In his telling, the wounding of his fellow officers adhered to 'this' individual rise, or 'that' specific depression in the terrain. Another spatial inversion occurred over the course of Cifrek's speech. The post office parking lot – the practical tarmac on which the crowd stood – was also a spatial marker in his narrative telling of the violence of that day. The car park as part of the landscape also has a story to tell. In contrast to the dense cover provided by the trees, the open, flat ground of the parking lot was a space made more dangerous through exposure. The banality of the space is rendered uncanny and disquieting as a place of potential violence. Decades after the event, this *non-lieu* is momentarily transformed from a devalorised space to a place worthy of attention.[41] Cifrek's narrative, drawing in the parking lot, the access road, and the D1 motorway expanded the meanings of the memorial landscape as we reflect on the relationship of the monument to the park's infrastructure. What is evoked, if only transitorily, is an assemblage of elements of the natural (and managed) picturesque, and the produced (and unnoticed) elements of the 'anti-picturesque'[42] - an assemblage that is animated annually and that further unsettles the spaces of the memorial landscape itself.

[39] Fieldnote 31 March 2017.
[40] Fieldnote 31 March 2017.
[41] Theoretical considerations of vacant spaces (mainly in urban or peri-urban conditions) include 'non-places' (Augé 1994); 'anxious landscapes' of post-industrial transitional zones (Picon 2000); urban and industrial 'wastelands' (Di Palma 2014) and spaces lacking in cultural or economic value 'terrain vague' (de Solá-Morales Rubió 1993); 'ambivalent landscapes' (Jorgensen and Tylecote 2007) as a focus of analysis for critical urban interventions. For an analysis of these and other considerations of interstitial, marginal, 'unintentional landscapes' see (Gandy 2016) who argues that a narrow sense of landscape as a singularly visual experience overlooks the potential of these spaces as reflexive and reflective places.
[42] In her work on 'wastelands' (Di Pama 2014), which she defines as landscapes that were originally considered to stand outside human culture, she notes a shift in its application to now include sites that are abandoned or exhausted through industrial activity. She reflects on the 'anti-picturesque' in this context as landscapes that have traditionally drawn fear and contempt and argues that the 18th century emotional evaluations have shaped contemporary cultural attitudes toward landscapes.

Cifrek's personal experiences as a witness and survivor carry a 'site-specific power of memory', an embodied knowledge of the past that is entirely different than any knowledge about the Plitvice incident that has come from some non-location-specific source.[43] In Avishai Margalit's formulation, Cifrek is a 'moral witness,' both witness and victim, having experienced first-hand the crime to which he bears witness (Margalit 2002). The moral witness does not simply bear a message; in this case, the bearer of the message *is* the message (Assmann 2016, 71). Witnesses like Cifrek orally map the actual historical site of trauma for those attending the commemoration, some of whom travelled great distances to gain direct access to and experience of the historical event in its genuine location.[44] The new knowledge the visitors seek is beyond the intellectual: it is to strengthen their historical knowledge by means of subjective experience. One of the complex characteristics of traumatic sites, argues Assmann (2016, 191) is that they possess a distinctive appeal that she describes as a 'magic of Antaeus.' In Greek legend Antaeus is a giant whose great power comes from being in contact with the earth. Heracles overcomes him by lifting him off the ground and preventing him from touching the earth. The term was first used by cultural theorist Aby Warburg in the context of historical relics that emanate 'mnemic energy' and whose affective properties have unusual staying power.[45] Visitors to sites of trauma generally expect that the physical space will resonate with them deeply and an understanding of the past event will be amplified through concrete and sensory experience, engagement, and appropriation.[46] The less someone has a 'lived semantic memory' of the event the higher will be the expectation of the visitor for an affective experience and the more is required of the site to compensate.[47] The magic, Assmann continues, is grounded in whatever authenticity can be attributed to the historical site (Ibid.). The magic comes from *being* 'grounded,' in touch with the earth, as visitor to Plitvice are in the presence of a guide like Cifrek. Authenticity, to Assmann, is precisely the ability of a site to offer that groundedness. Authenticity, however, is not an intrinsic condition, but is open to social control, negotiation and contestation (DeLyser 1999; Dwyer and Alderman 2008). In this sense, the authenticity of the Plitvice site as a durable place of traumatic memory, is in danger of being overshadowed by the materiality and aesthetic value of the landscape of the park.

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[43] These sources would include museums, memorial education centres, archives, digital and mass media.

[44] As in years previous, journeys to the site were made in groups by car and bus; others ran ninety-seven kilometres as part of an ultramarathon group organised by the Ministry of the Interior, and police cadets walked from their academy named after Jović 'to pay their respects to the first Croatian victim, to all other Croatian defenders and their families for their sacrifice.' Croatian Ministry of Defence (Republika Hrvatska Ministarstvo Obrane - MOD) https://www.morh.hr/en/26th-anniversary-of-the-plitvice-lakes-incident-and-death-of-josip-jovic/ [accessed 20 June 2017]. Author's own translation.

[45] Aby Warburg's interest was in the memory of art and attributed the staying power of cultural symbols and their affective power to trigger memories. See (Erll 2011, 19) for a discussion of the influence of Warburg on the development of memory studies.

[46] The term is also used by (Knittel 2015, 49) in reference to the affective power of the site-specific memory of Nazi euthanasia memorial sites.

[47] Manier and Hirst (2008) have considered different forms of the representation of collective memory in individual minds and speaks of a 'lived semantic memory,' formed between generations with the communication of direct knowledge of an event. Although this memory may not require active participation the knowledge has a vitality, and this is compared with 'distant semantic memory' which is also indirect knowledge but lacks an immediacy of recall of a more distant event and is thus communicated by institutions.

Unlike other historic Croatian sites and places of memory expressly set up to be interpreted by visitors in the present, there are no material remains, no retained and reconstructed relics, only a minimally inscribed column and a capsule history behind a bus stop.

Arguably, in light of the politicised commemoration of the 'Bloody Easter' incident the site only partially retains its identity as the site of the historical event. It is the narrative of the survivor, who annually evokes the snow-covered landscape of a quarter of a century ago, that binds the battle for the park, to the park. Despite all the symbolic rituals and official interpretations and exploitations, the parkland persists, as parkland. Thus, the memory requires external 'triggers' in the form of the on-site survivor narrative otherwise the non-conscious memory remains latent, the cues after a long interval of forgetting are both reliant on and in competition with the elements in the Plitvice Lakes landscape.[48] The Josip Jović memorial landscape is an unsettled site, unable to rely solely on the magic of its being the actual site of the event, and unable to be completely captured by being given a symbolic value.[49] It exists in the space between authentic site and its performance and it may prove that as time passes that in order for the traumatic site to endure as such, the memorial will require more staging to compensate for the diminishing numbers of survivors able or willing to share their experiences.[50]

Concealing Memory in the Plitvice Lakes

On the occasion of the twenty-sixth anniversary I waited among the police officers, veterans, and media for the commemoration to begin [Figure 3.20]. Luka, my local guide and interpreter, greeted those he knew, many of whom were also independent tour guides, or were employed by the park. Among those he introduced me to his aunt, who had walked from her nearby park authority office to attend the event as she had every year 'to pay her respects to the fallen defenders.'[51] Luka explains that 'she comes, because my uncle won't.' And this is how I learn that for at least one survivor the memorial and the annual commemoration are not appropriate, or registers in some way perhaps as unrecognizable and may even work to blind people to the memory of the violence.

[48] The capacity of landscape to generate a notion of authenticity is explored in DeLyser's (1999) study of an American ghost town. She argues that authenticity is 'triggered' by the provocative landscape and analyses how authenticity is used as a vehicle through which visitors and staff engage with powerful concepts of American virtues.
[49] Assmann (2016, 193) refers to this condition for historic sites as 'an in-between world.' As historical locations despite all their symbolic interpretations they are still 'something other than a symbol; namely they are the locations themselves.'
[50] At the commemoration in 2019, for the first time, a literal stage was made to accommodate the annual speeches. It is not built into the memorial but constructed from wood and erected temporarily.
[51] Fieldnote 31 March 2017.

3.20 News media and attending crowd fill the parking lot of the post office:
Plitvice Lakes National Park, Lika-Senj county, Croatia, 31 March 2017.

The uncle was one of the police officers sent to Plitvice in 1991 to prevent the paramilitary occupation of the park and Luka tells me that he has never attended the commemoration, nor has he ever come to see the memorial. I ask what his uncle may be doing, if anything, to mark the event. Luka answers that 'it's private for him, he doesn't talk about the war, or what happened that day, the day Jović was killed…he will sit quietly. Pray, maybe, he has a small shrine at his home.'[52] As with most employees of the park, Luka's aunt and uncle live in one of the villages just beyond its boundary; the park having always been more visited than inhabited. 'He avoids the park today. He doesn't believe all these people. They have come here for them, not for veterans like him.' We are nearly surrounded by veterans, though, many in camouflage with flags and the insignia of their units on their jackets, or holding banners between them. I mention to Luka their numbers and the social, almost festive atmosphere they have brought with them from the restaurant, where many gathered on the terrace before the official ceremony [Figure 3.21]. He observes that 'there are those, like them, who go to the bar and talk, they go to be together to remember, because there were all there. My uncle is not like them. Not all of them talk to remember. Some of them say nothing, but they still remember.' Although the commemoration is ostensibly to honour those who fought, Luka's uncle does not feel the public tribute in the park is a place for his private pain. He will not come to the memorial because it's not 'for' him. As we walk in the park the next day I ask Luka about this estrangement or ambivalence of his uncle toward the memorial and he explains further that: 'whether the memorial is here or not, the park is not what it was before that day, not for him. He can remember at home, just like he can remember here, but he doesn't want to be with all of these people.'[53] For Luka's uncle the landscape changed forever on that day in 1991, and can never be a place that validates his experience or serves to affirm a collective experience or identity.

The experiences Luka tells of have been transmitted by means of the stories, images, and behaviours among which he grew up, including the alternate and private rituals of his uncle. Luka was born after the war and explains that he 'wasn't here' and that compared with his sisters, who were young children then, he has no 'real' memory of the conflict in the 1990s.[54] He is of the generation that came 'after' and his relationship to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before is what Marianne Hirsch has described as 'postmemory' (1999; 2008; 2012).[55]

[52] Field note 31 March 2017.
[53] Fieldnote 1April 2017.
[54] Field note 3 April 2017. In my initial interview with Luka's mother, Marjana, a former school teacher and principal, describes having given birth to her daughter and being taken with her newborn to the basement of the hospital to avoid local shelling. Field note 18 May 2018.
[55] Hirsch (2012) is concerned primarily with the textures and qualities of memories transmitted in writing and visual culture (in particular via photographs) after the Holocaust. Since the publication of *The Generation of Postmemory*, the term has been used in studies of memory and intergenerational transmission for the multiple genocides and collective traumas in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. See also (Hirsch and Spitzer 2009).

3.21 Veterans and police officers at the Jović memorial: Plitvice Lakes National Park, Lika-Senj county, Croatia, 31 March 2017.

Luka experiences the reluctantly shared stories of his uncle intertwined with the daily walking in the landscape with tourists who are mostly seeking the picturesque and the sublime.

While we walk, we talk about the mythic origins of the park; the invasive species of chub and bamboo; the local protests over contamination of the water supply by uncontrolled construction and unregulated effluent run off, all multiple perspectives on the same landscape. Its identity as a memory site of conflict is but one of several.

Traumatic sites, sites of violence and death, are inherently multi-layered, indeterminate, and inhabited by very diverse memories and interpretations. Unlike the ways in which meaning is symbolically constructed in museums and monuments, memory at landscape sites is 'disunified and irreducibly complex' and 'the same site can be constituted by many different affective frames' (Assmann 2016, 193). Traumatic sites that become heritage sites 'act as memory caches, as containers of emotions' (Sørensen 1996, 26) and the strategies ordinarily used to historicise or relativize events, to make them meaningful, come up against their limits in such places and present particular challenges and opportunities for affective framing from various perspectives.

3.4 Multiperspectival Landscapes

The Josip Jović memorial is located within both the physical and symbolic boundaries of the Plitvice Lakes National Park. As a result, the perspective of the international tourist affects and is affected by the official framing of the park landscape. The presence of tourists in the park means economic investment, and the tourist gaze is a powerful marketing tool for promoting the park as a leisure destination. It is in the interest of the park authorities and wider political interests, therefore, to promote it as a UNESCO world heritage site rather than as the site of the 'Bloody Easter' incident. European and international tourists in the park, who come to walk the lakeside boardwalks and take the paths through the forests, may neither seek nor have any expectations of 'the magic of Antaeus.' There is little material evidence of the 1990s conflict beyond the Jović memorial. No explanation is provided for the dilapidated state of a number of Yugoslav postwar modernist architectural structures in the park, and visitors are left to consider causes of neglect other than conflict [Figure 3.22].[56]

[56] There has been only marginal attention paid to the architectural heritage of the park, in academic sources or popular media. Martina Ivanuš (2010) is one of the few scholars to have published in English on the park architecture specifically, and she argues for its promotion as valuable (and marketable) heritage. Interview note 12 March 2018. There are signs that things have begun to change, and interest has shifted to education about and preservation of the modernist structures in the park. This includes the 'Motel Trogir' project based in Zagreb and launched in 2013 as a civic and artistic initiative to research and preserve mid-twentieth century modernist architecture. In 2018 the (Yugoslav) modernist architecture in the PLNP became a part of the project's remit. Subsequently the first major renovation of modernist post war architecture in the park was open for tender August 2019.

3.22 Hotel Plitvice (1954) designed by architect Marijan Haberle (1908 – 1979). Current condition: Plitvice Lakes National Park, Lika-Senj county, Croatia, 29 October 2016.

The maps which are available for the park, in the tourist kiosk, on the back of admission tickets, and in large route map formats at the entrances, all mark the parking lot of the post office and the location of the bus stop, the hotels and park paths, yet there is no symbolic marking of the Jović monument [Figure 3.23 and 3.24]. At no other time than on the anniversary does the monument attract attention, and unlike the waterfalls and the crystalline waters of the lakes, the millions of international tourists that come to the national park are not (made) aware of its existence.

On the morning after the memorial service in March 2017 I sat with a handful of visitors to the park to wait for the electric ferry. I asked a couple who had been walking in the lower lakes the previous day if they had noticed the crowds gathering, the officers in ceremonial dress, and the media with their cameras mounted on scaffolding. They assumed it was a protest or some kind of memorial event. They asked me 'did it have something to do with the park?'[57] I replied that among others the President of Croatia had come to commemorate the death of the first Croatian police officer in the war in the 1990s, which had happened near the park's entrance. They admitted that they did not know of the Jović monument, or that the park had been a scene of violence in the war. One of them commented, 'But, it's so beautiful here, untouched, as if it has always been this way' and the other added, 'you see the park buildings aren't in very good shape and some are even abandoned, but the forest and the waterfalls, they just continue on, being beautiful.'[58] The disconnect between the violence and the natural features of the park seem incompatible for these visitors, as though the human experience of the war has run along in parallel and not in situ. For most visitors, the park landscape is an historical location only in the sense of geological time and its layers are material strata that create the lake and waterfall phenomenon, rather than the layered perspectives of experiences of the war.[59]

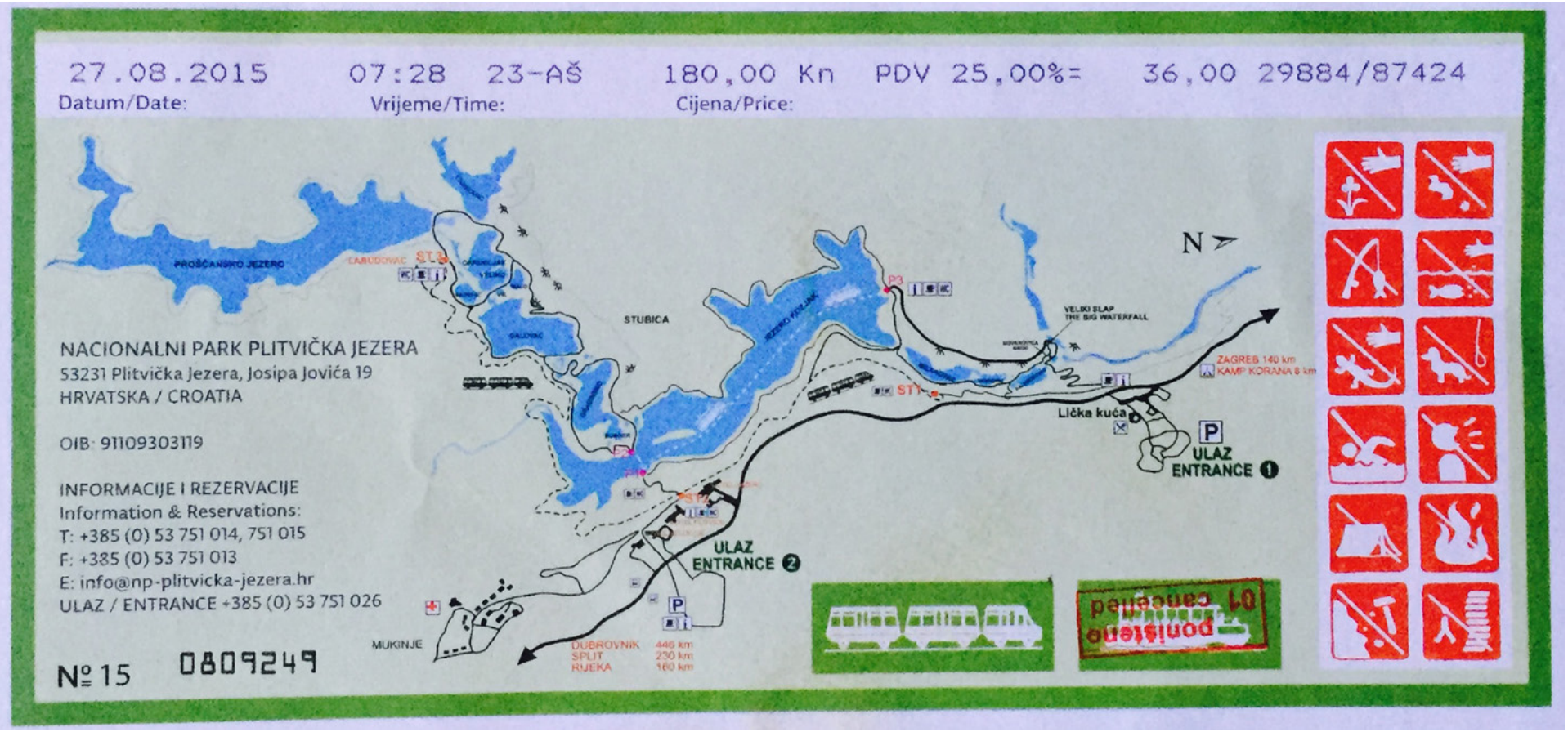
On our third day of walking the paths in the park I ask Luka if the people he guides ask him about the conflict in the 1990s or indeed if he had guided that subset of tourists who expressly seek places associated with death and tragedy.[60] Perhaps it is unsurprising that his answers are grounded in the landscape around us. I had just been speaking about a Holocaust survivor who refused to visit the former camp where he was a political prisoner and who wanted instead to imagine the buildings succumbing to

[57] Fieldnote 1 April 2017.
[58] Ibid.
[59] A reflection perhaps of the continual process by which tourist space is represented, one that Edensor (1998, 14) has observed, as 'constituting a hermeneutic circle in which tourists contingently (re)produce representations of tourist space as well as consuming them.'
[60] The phenomenon has various names including 'dark tourism' (Lennon and Foley 2000; White and Frew 2013) and 'dissonant heritage' (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1996) or 'difficult heritage' (Macdonald 2009). Much of this literature share concerns over the ethics of marketing sites of death as 'heritage sites' in order to attract consumers. Luka didn't know that such tourism existed, but it didn't surprise him, 'veterans travel all over the country to visit Homeland War anniversaries and to be together to remember the war, it's a bit like that isn't it?' Field note 20 March 2017.

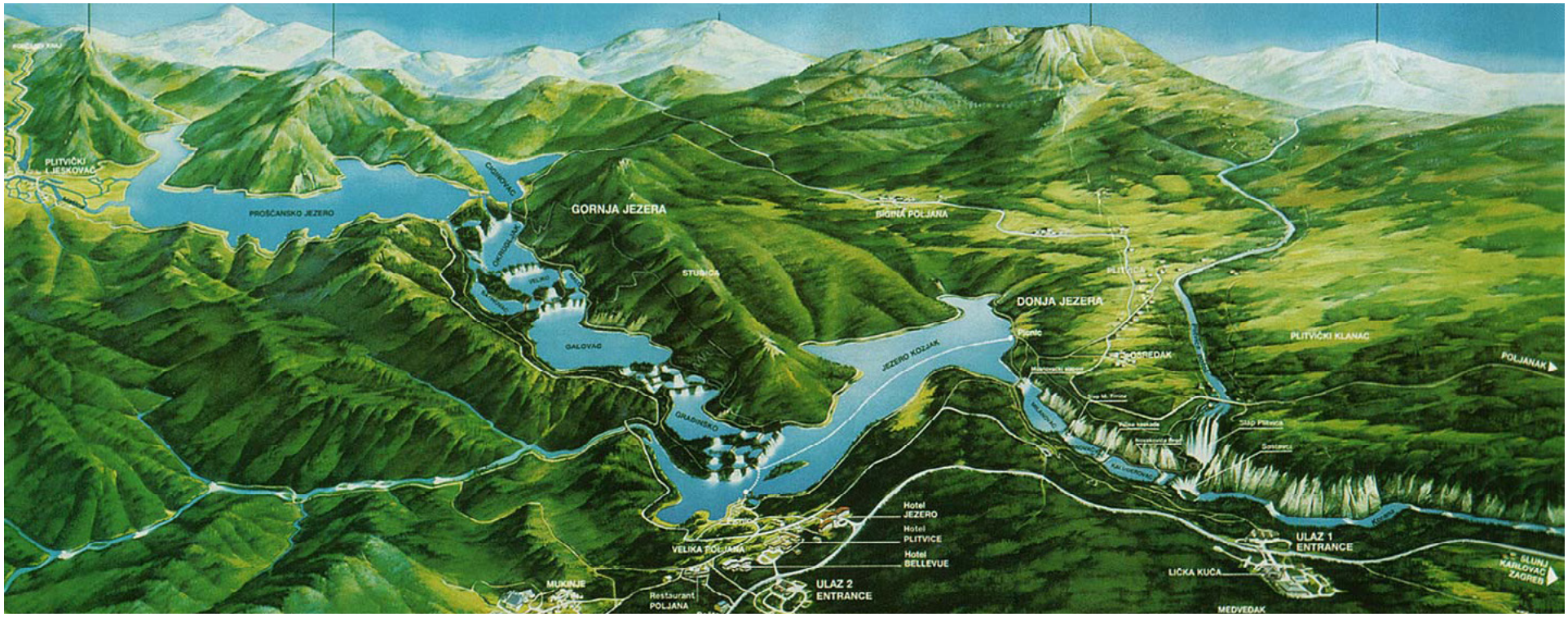
the slow work of nature, to the woods, roots, rain, erosion, and seasons.[61] Luka points to the karst hollows and says that many times he has been asked if they are made by mortar shell explosions. It is as if, he says, some tourists are looking for physical scars in the park, a natural equivalent to the collapsed and bullet sprayed homes and barns in the villages that surround it.[62] 'I tell them about the underwater aquifers and the porosity of the stone,' Luka continues, 'but perhaps they are surprised that the park seems unspoiled to them,' that it is unmarked, and unchanged [Figure 3.25]. [63]

The landscape of the park remains recognisably that of the forests, lakes and 'spectacular waterfalls that cascade down the side of the valley' that are promoted by its authority and protected by UNESCO[64] – permanently altered for those who live near it perhaps, but not effaced, unlike the dramatically damaged homes that the displaced encountered upon returning to their farms and villages in 1995.[65] The landscape will only register bullet holes temporarily, before being weathered and then overgrown completely.[66] Luka believes the tourists are more interested in the fact that the park was mined and that it remains unclear if the old growth forest is completely safe.[67] He notes that the average tourist that he guides is not much interested in the infrastructure of the park, which was completely destroyed by the war. They are surprised to hear that in fact, during the conflict, the landscape of the park itself thrived.[68]

[61] I was referring to an interview in which the former prisoner of Buchenwald Jorge Semprun, expressed his dream 'That one day, we would stumble upon the buildings of the former camp, inexorably overgrown by trees.' '*In den Wind gestreut*' [*Strewn in the Wind*], in Volkard Knigge, Jürgen Maria Pietsch, and Thomas A. Seidel, *Versteinertes Gedenken: Das Buchenwalder Mahnmal von 1958* [*Petrified Remembrance: The Buchenwald Memorial of 1958*], Leipzig: Editions Akanthus, 1997, I:81 as cited in (Assmann 2016, 188-189).
[62] Field note 19 March 2017.
[63] Fieldnote 19 March 2017.
[64] UNESCO Advisory Bodies Evaluation: World Heritage Nomination – IUCN Technical Evaluation, Plitvice Lakes Extension (Croatia) 2000, p. 99.
[65] For a comparison see the (Jansen 2009b) article on the material changes encountered by the thousands of survivors of 'ethnic cleansing' who return to two villages in Bosnia Herzegovina. Their homes are not only marked, repainted, reconfigured, reburied, remounted, but unrecognizable.
[66] (Norton 1988) reflects on violence as inscription in relation to political identity and Herscher (2010) adopts this notion in his argument that destruction transforms architecture from 'inscription' to 'transcription.' I argue, however, in the context of violence taking place in landscapes this relationship is altered, the material destruction, violation or desecration is often not targeted, rather the results are forms of scenic violence.
[67] Although the PLNP was reportedly one of the early sites to be demined at the end of 2017, Croatia still had a total of 411km^2 of mined area (0.73% of the entire land mass of Croatia), excluding military areas. Of the total of combined Suspected Hazardous Area and Confirmed Hazardous Area 59.7% is protected as national park or nature reserve. The impact of mines in Croatia is predominantly socio-economic and at local level, preventing safe use of land for livestock and forestry-related activities. At the end of 2017, 89% of mine contamination was on forested land; 10% on agricultural land; and 1% on other areas (e.g. water, marshland, and coastal areas). http://www.the-monitor.org/en-gb/reports/2019/croatia/mine-action.aspx.
[68] Luka's remarks regarding staff, infrastructure and the environmental conditions of the park are confirmed in UNESCO mission reports made during and immediately after the conflict. See: (Eidsvik 1993); (Joint IUCN Expert Mission Report, Plitvice Lakes February 1992); (Joint IUCN/UNESCO/EUROPARC Mission to the Plitvice Lakes September 1992).



3.23 Plitvice Lakes National Park ticket with route maps with Entrance 2, parking and restaurant marked with no reference to the Jović memorial.



3.24 Plitvice Lakes National Park route map found on boards throughout the park: *Plitvička Jezera Nacionalni park*.

3.25 Plitvice Lakes national park natural karst hollows and depressions: Plitvice Lakes National Park, Lika-Senj county, Croatia, 29 October 2016.

In 1992, at the request of the Republic of Croatia, a multinational expert assessment team was authorized and endorsed by UNESCO's World Heritage Centre to assess the conditions of the Plitvice Lakes National Park. It had been placed on the World Heritage Site in Danger List because of the 'potential and ascertained threat of armed conflict to primary values of the unique dynamic bio geomorphological formation of travertine terraces forming a series of lakes and connecting streams of high aesthetic merit and the associated relatively intact ecosystem including old growth beech forest and key populations of European brown bear and wolves.' These specific World Heritage values, it was reported, not only survived the conflict without damage but have been 'undergoing a natural restorative process to conditions of higher quality than have existed for several decades.' The absence of ten to fifteen thousand daily visitors to the lakes had proven to have a beneficial effect.

The war did essentially destroy all park structures including a number of the hotels and maintenance buildings and it displaced all park staff. Without maintenance for five years, much of the park infrastructure was lost and/or damaged. However, it was the threat of returning visitors to the park that caused UNESCO the most concern, constituting 'a yet to be acknowledged threat to World Heritage values of the area.' According to the UNESCO assessment a local, regional, national, and international effort was required to address not only Croatia's national, but its international responsibilities for the effective protection, management and presentation of the Plitvice Lakes.[69] There is another curious inversion here: as from the perspective of UNESCO and the values espoused in the heritage designation the violence was good for the park, and it was the recovery after the war that is traumatic. The park landscape and its unique ecosystem were at the time of the assessment more at risk than during the conflict, and this continues to be so as millions of visitors have returned to the park and now strain the limits of sustainability, rendering it not only a fragile and unsettled place for wartime memory, but from the perspective of UNESCO, a seriously threatened natural landscape.[70]

Scenic Violence: 'There is a Forest They Do Not See'

From yet another perspective the same landscape is experienced as multi-layered. When the incident in the Plitvice lakes in the early stages of the conflict is represented in witness statements in the court documents of the ICTY, the beech and fir tree forest of the park, which also surrounds the neighbouring villages takes on a certain multivalence. For witnesses testifying to the deaths, disappearances, and displacement of family and neighbours and the destruction of villages around the park, the forest was refuge, shelter and protection: it became the place in which to hide, but these same witnesses also saw the

[69] UNESCO, 1996, whc-96-conf202-inf13e.
[70] In January 2017 a joint committee from the World Heritage Centre and International Union for Conservation of Nature was invited to the PLNP to evaluate the threat posed to the property and its Outstanding Universal Value by the recent expansion of tourism facilities and to confirm whether the property still meets the conditions for inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger.

forest as the source of violent threat and a place to be captured.[71] Maria Vukovic testified that by August 1991, seven months after the Plitvice incident, the park was no longer under Croatian police control, and when the shelling of her village began the families 'fled to the forest,' only returning to the house to make bread or gather blankets.[72] But, the 'forest around your village' also simply meant the direction from which armed men would come.[73] The witness testimony captures the forest of the Plitvice lakes as a site of scenic violence, and the violence is manifold; that which is inscribed in and enacted on the landscape and the violence done to the original perspective the witness may have had on it.

Marjana is Luka's mother and was also once a guide in the park. She describes how the conflict made the landscape both undefined and specific. When she walks in the forest now she does not know if she is in the park or not. There are no longer any signs or way-finding markers off the tourist paths. At times she does not know if she is still in Croatia or if she has strayed into Bosnia until her mobile phone notifies her that she has entered a new cell range. She knows her way as do the dogs who walk with her, only by sense and familiarity. And yet, that clearing where helicopters landed and that field where bodies were hurriedly buried are marked, however unstably, in her lived memory and that of all who were personally affected by those places.[74] I asked her about the park and if she felt the invisible personal markers when guiding tourists. She replied only that 'there is a forest that they don't see.'[75] There was no celebration when the park was re-opened after the conflict ended and the Plitvice Lakes National Park was returned to the Croatian park authority. 'Celebrating was not right, it was too painful, too close.'[76] Her memory of the landscape had come up against its 'limits' and marking the landscape's return was to also mark its period of absence.

This exchange reveals that there is a particular potential for memory landscapes to be rendered invisible. The extensively quoted observation by Robert Musil that 'there is nothing in this world as invisible as a monument' (Musil 1927, 61) describes the ease with which a public monument can be disregarded when the circumstances for its construction changes and it no longer performs as an *aide memoire*. The scholar James E. Young argues that the reason for this invisibility is the 'essential stiffness monuments share with all other images: as a likeness necessarily vitrifies its otherwise dynamic referent, a monument turns pliant memory to stone' (Young 1993, 13). This may be the fate of the monument to Josip Jović, although the year on year increase in attendance at the annual commemoration argues otherwise. The social and political context in which the Jović monument was produced still supports its referential status, and it has not (yet) assumed 'the polished, finished veneer of a death mask, unreflective of a current memory,

[71] ICTY (2006) Martić IT-06-03-22, pp: 2418.
[72] ICTY (2006) Martić IT-06-03-22, pp: 2415-2444.
[73] ICTY (2006) Martić IT-06-03-22, pp: 2444.
[74] Fieldnote 15 April 2018.
[75] Fieldnote 16 April 2018.
[76] Fieldnote 16 April 2018.

unresponsive to contemporary issues' (Young, 2003, 245). The landscape as a referent, however, unlike generic forms of monument, resists acts of termination, of finality, of fixity. Instead, as Marjana's daily walking experience reveals, her current memory is retained, and the commemorative capacity of landscape communicates intimate messages of loss and mourning. As with the selective process of memorialisation, dependent and constrained by many conditions, so to with the selective process of its decline as a place of memory. However, the processes for remembrance or oblivion in a conventional monument are different than those for the landscape in which it stands. The French historian François Choay argued that the affective nature of a monument rests upon it being an 'antidote to entropy, to the dissolving action of time on all things natural and artificial it seeks to appease our fear of death and annihilation' (2001, 7). In the case of landscape its affective nature as a mediator of memory is precisely to engage with its processes of entropy and renewal, to engage with it as an alternately provisional environment for memory.

3.5 Conclusion

Until the spring of 1991 the official designation of the Plitvice lakes as a natural monument and its designation as a national park had a mutually reinforcing narrative: a singular landscape, recognised internationally as a prized landscape belonging to Yugoslavia. Following one of the first major violent incidents in 1991 between rebel Serb and Croatian forces, the park fell within a contested region once more and was again the unsettled site of a militarised frontier. The spatial dimensions and practices surrounding the Josip Jović memorial on the anniversary of his death reveal that the representation of the landscape oscillates and that the narrative that the memorial symbolises is both dependent on and in contest with the landscape. Investigating the multiple textual, material and visual rhetorical performances that surround and produce the Plitvice Lakes as national park I have examined how the landscape has been invoked to naturalise cultural memory and mediate the experiences of visitors, in ways that may affirm or disrupt narratives of the 1990s conflict.

The central concern of this chapter is the capacity of landscape to support and or inhibit the affective framework of commemorative practices that take place in the park, with particular focus on the commemorative event staged annually to safeguard the memory of a single heroic death and the production of official historiography of the Homeland War. The landscape is tensioned between this spectacle of official practice and the spectacular of the natural landscape, which is promoted by the park and international heritage authorities as an object of aesthetic, rather than mnemonic contemplation. If someone is distant in time and circumstance from the events that occurred at a site, then the authentic site itself must compensate with its affective power of place. The category of authenticity as brought into play by Assmann, however, becomes increasingly difficult to manage at the Plitvice Lakes, and the attempts to reconfigure the memorial with mounting media and political attention unavoidably entail a loss of that

authenticity when it is seen from the perspective of Luka's uncle or by the inherited postmemory experience of his nephew.

Those who travel to the Plitvice Lakes National Park to attend the annual commemoration of 'Bloody Easter' necessarily share their destination with thousands of others who travel there to witness the natural beauty of the landscape. The Plitvice Lakes as national park predates the site as memorial, and without the nationalist stagecraft the park reverts to natural treasure on the first of April. Unlike the landscapes of Yugoslav memorial parks, which were constructed according to a mnemonic strategy that combines tourist destination with commemorative site, a similar attempt in the Plitvice Lakes makes an uncomfortable pairing for some veterans. The park, the landscape of the traumatic event, and the Jović memorial exist (temporarily) alongside each other and only overlap or permeate each other on the occasion of the anniversary of Jović's death. This reflects the burden carried by a landscape that is a site of memory but shares that identity with a national park. For the local people whose experience is framed by their traumatic experience in the landscape, the layers are multiple and the burden changes form. The burden of the landscape for them is not that it obscures memory, but that it becomes inseparable from and intertwined with memories of the conflict.

Chapter 4
The Minefield Massacre in Lovas: The Fragility of Commemorative Landscapes

'They told us we were all going to harvest grapes in the field. But, we knew this was a lie.'

Lovas resident and minefield survivor, December 2018.

Public commemoration is both irresistible and unsustainable.

Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory*[1]

[1] (Winter 2010, 324).

4.1 Introduction[2]

This chapter examines the memorial practices enacted in response to a massacre committed in a former clover field on the edge of the village of Lovas in Croatia, less than ten kilometres from the border with Serbia. Both architecture and landscape are bound to their capability to efface, to weather and to deteriorate. Unlike ruined buildings or monuments, however, landscape constantly regenerates. Its natural cycle of dying and reviving provides it with different spatial and temporal qualities than urban sites and other spatial discontinuities caused by state conflict, such as dead zones and divisive infrastructures (Pullan 2011; 2013). The burdens of the past can more easily be overgrown but also offer distinct possibilities for the exercise of agency in local memory practices (Winter 1999; 2010). This chapter will analyse commemorative practices in an agricultural field which until the recent production and promotion of a documentary film only had value for local actors. Lovas, with a population of only one thousand, is in the hinterland of Vukovar, a city with intense mnemonical presence in the Croatian war narrative, and is only a few kilometres from the river basin borderland with Serbia. The chapter will explore the implications of this marginal location and the performativity and materiality that the landscape affords to (re)frame the memory of violent events and produce alternate spaces for commemoration.[3]

4.2 Contested Memory in the Borderlands of Eastern Slavonia

The borders and borderlands of what is now Croatia were transformed after the series of armed conflicts that resulted in the dissolution of Yugoslavia. The nature and function of what were previously internal boundaries within the Yugoslav state changed dramatically, with fundamental implications for the borderland communities inhabiting them, and the changes included radical alterations to their ethnic composition due to migration, refugee return, and depopulation. During the conflict, the region of Eastern Slavonia, the easternmost part of Croatia along the Danube river, was the geographical interface with and military front line between the Croatian and Serbian/Yugoslav forces, and as such it experienced extensive material damage, and much human suffering (Klemenčić and Schofield 2001).

Between 1991 and 1995 Eastern Slavonia was subject to international intervention, and became known as the UN Protected Area (UNPA), Sector East by the international United Nations peacekeeping force.

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[2] Elements of the research conducted for this chapter served as the empirical base of an article published in *Space and Polity* 23(3) (2019) under the title of 'Unsettled Landscapes: Traumatic Memory in a Croatian Hinterland,' co-authored with Dr Max Sternberg who has given his permission for its inclusion.

[3] This chapter situates itself within the growing literature on the value of analysing the aftermath of conflict through the lens of place. Although acknowledging the value of the recent contributions of 'Necropolitics' (Mbembe 2003; Barker 2018; Bednar 2013) and 'Necrogeography' (Lesham 2015; Kniffen 1967) to critical approaches that interrogate the contested meanings, cultural politics, and power relations of violent sites, the research in this chapter diverges in a number of key respects from the primary content of those studies; namely that the dead, which the Lovas field memorial commemorates, are not buried there and the field itself is not contested space as it is communally owned.

Within the Republic of Croatia, however, it was considered occupied territory, while to the internationally unrecognised 'Serbian Republic of Krajina' it was simply territory. As part of the Dayton peace negotiations in 1995 an agreement was reached by parties to the conflict for the 'peaceful' reintegration of the region into the Republic of Croatia. Eastern Slavonia was governed by a United Nations Transitional Authority (UNTAES) protectorate until 1998, when the protectorate's authority was formally relinquished, and the region became internationally recognised as an integral part of Croatia. Croatia thereby recovered what is regarded as her 'natural' and symbolic eastern boundary on the Danube (McDowell and Braniff 2014; Kardov 2007).

The consequences of the conflict and the ongoing processes of reintegration and co-existence remain significant and painful. The recent traumatic and violent past continues to inscribe and reify divisions expressed in resilient ethnic, nationalist, and religious symbols, and in language and narratives that occupy memorial spaces in the present (Clark 2013; McDowell and Braniff 2014, 126). Commemoration plays an important role in processes of post-conflict transition, and although narratives of ethnic difference and violent histories still saturate the streetscapes in villages and cities across the region in toponymic and monumental form, local commemorative practices have implications for attempts at transitioning from the conflict to political accommodation.

Vukovar and Mnemonic Presence in the Hinterland

The port city of Vukovar, on the river border with the Republic of Serbia, was a site of violence for most of the war and as such became an exceptional symbol of the battle for nationhood (Baillie 2012; Banjegelav 2012).[4] It absorbs much of the attention and focus for memory of the war, both locally, regionally, and nationally, and as 'a hero-town' it is treated with national reverence (Milošević 2016), with much being invested in its production of Croatian national identity (Anderson and Prokkola 2018). In September 2013, just a few months after Croatia joined the EU, demonstrations in Zagreb and across Croatia took place, protesting the use of both Latin and Cyrillic Serbian script on newly mounted signs on government buildings in Vukovar. [5] The use of the Cyrillic alphabet in the city's public spaces was found to be particularly offensive. Inter-communal relations continue to be strained. The memory of war crimes

[4] The Battle of Vukovar was an 87-day siege by the Yugsolav People's Army from August to November 1991. When Vukovar fell to the Serb forces on 18 November 1991 hundreds of soldiers and civilians were killed and thousands of cvilians were expelled from the city.

[5] Following a census in 2011, the Serbian population in Vukovar reached the 30% threshold for minority rights legislation that mandates the use of bilingual public signage. There were public protests against the legislation not only in Vukovar, but across Croatia. In September 2013 there were demonstrations in Vukovar and signs written in both Latin and Cyrillic Serbian alphabet on government buildings were torn down. Two months later, the Vukovar City Council banned the official use of the Cyrillic alphabet and exempted the city from the State Law on Protection of Minorities declaring Vukovar 'a place of special reverence' (Pavelić 2013 in Milošević 2017, 899). (Balkan https://balkaninsight.com/2016/08/15/tensions-continue-to-raise-between-serbia-and-croatia-08-15-2016/, accessed October 12, 2017).

is thus made manifest in the methods and mechanisms of preservation and commemoration in the physical spaces of the city (Baillie 2013b), and the experience of conflict continues to form a backdrop to daily cultural and political life in the city.[6] Vukovar has the highest concentration of memorials and memorial centres dedicated to the Homeland War in Croatia (Baillie 2012). National holidays mark wartime events, and official services of remembrance and the construction of war museums and memorials continue throughout the city.[7] The memorial topography itself continues to foster political division, as official monuments clearly designate and demarcate the city spaces so as to re-narrate Croat victimhood and Serbian aggression. As Assmann (2006, 16-17) suggests, memories of violence become the privilege or 'sovereignty' of one group that may then act as an instrument of exclusion towards the 'other' (see also Jovic 2004; Kardov 2007; Palmberger 2006; Olick 2007). There is little plurality nationally in the perspective of the wartime narrative of victim and perpetrator, but it is the volume and location of the monuments in Vukovar, Baillie (2013, 115) argues, that reflects local desires to 'Croatise space in the shadow of the Serb "victory"' and that the violence of the siege has not been 'expunged from the landscape, but has rather metamorphosed into memorial form (2013, 128).'

This pattern of highly selective and politicised memorials emanates outward from the city, following both the main regional north-south highway and the Danube river (Baillie 2012). These memorials are features of a memory procession, referred to as a 'column of memories' (*Kolona Sjećana*), part of the annual events that mark Memorial Day for the Victims of Vukovar (*Dan Sjećana na Žrtvu Vukovara*) on 18 November. Since its inception, this procession has involved thousands of people walking the five-and-a-half-kilometre route from Vukovar hospital, where more than two hundred wounded were taken, past the symbolic ruin of the city's water tower, past the Memorial Cemetery of the Homeland War Victims, and on to a wreath-laying ceremony at the Ovçara farm monument where those victims were murdered and buried in a mass grave [Figure 4.1a, 4.1b and 4.2].[8]

[6] The focus of Baillie's work (2013a and 2013b) is on the memorials and commemorative practices in Vukovar that at the local level are segregated along mainly ethnic lines, contentious and experienced as obstacles to reconciliation. See also Schellenberg (2016) who argues that Vukovar is maintained by the city and national authorities as a 'victim city' and used as a political tool.

[7] An interlocutant in Zagreb, upon learning of my going to Vukovar the next day, asked me why I would go there and described the city as 'the saddest place in Croatia,' he continued, 'no one cares about Vukovar, the politicians go once a year, it makes me sick, but they do nothing for the people.' A cynical view of the motivation of the political elite at memorial sites on the occasion of anniversaries was repeated by interlocutors in Vukovar also. Zagreb resident interview, 16 October 2016 and Vukovar resident interview, 18 November 2017.

[8] The use of the singular, highlights the perception of the city not as a site of victimhood but as itself a victim.

4.1a Ovçara Memorial. Ovçara, Vukovar-Sirmium County, Croatia. 18 October 2017.

4.1b Ovçara Memorial with military vehicle in the landscape. 18 October 2017.

4.2 Ovçara Memorial plaques and planting: Ovçara, Vukovar-Sirmium County, Croatia. 18 October 2017.

To most Croatian inhabitants of Vukovar, the embattled water tower remains the symbol of resistance to the three-month siege of the city in 1990. Still covered in scaffolding at the time of writing, it is soon to be opened to the public, furnished with a viewing platform and café. The water tower refurbishment, like church reconstructions and repatriation of icons and material heritage, is divisive rather than reconciliatory (Stig-Sørensen and Viejo Rose 2015). The water tower is a symbol that can be seen from across the river and it forces passers-by to confront the material cost of violence, either willingly or not.[9] A resident of Vukovar makes clear that he continues to essentially see it as a memorial: 'They won't restore it completely…the wounds have to remain. Talking about the war will never end.'[10] [Figure 4.3] Other memory sites in Vukovar that attract local and regional recognition, regularly drawing in visitors, are the Memorial Cemetery of the Victims of the Homeland War on the southern city boundary and the recently built museum for the prehistoric Vučedol culture.

The annual events remain contentious, with the weeks leading up to the official day of remembrance in Vukovar frequently marked by protests and an amplification of local tension. In October 2018, a month before the anniversary of the fall of Vukovar, thousands of war veterans and civilians walked the streets in a protest initiated by the mayor against the lack of indictments and convictions for crimes committed during and after the siege.[11] Research has highlighted the fact that neither the remote work of the Tribunal in the Hague nor the more immediate Croatian and Serbian judiciary have made much positive impact on relations among Vukovar's polarised inhabitants, and it has also been argued that the active resistance to forgetting for the sake of seeking justice continues to create barriers to reconciliation (Clark 2012, Buckley-Zistel et al. 2014). The memory of conflict thus continues to be a live issue in the city, with memories of the past perpetually linked to the politics of the present (Ashworth and Graham 2005; Mcdowell and Brainiff 2014). A further consequence of this dissonant memory culture in Vukovar is a structural imbalance in the hegemonic narrative, leading to the silencing of Serbian experience and to ambivalent attitudes to their suffering. In Croatia in general there is an overall rigidity in the perspectives on the wartime narrative of victim and perpetrator, but the situation in Vukovar is particularly extreme.

[9] The tower may be seen from a distance and also looms large as you pass on the road to Lovas. If you miss it, however, three-inch scale models are available for purchase in the Vukovar riverside hotel [Figure 4.4].
[10] Vukovar resident interview, 9 December 2018.
[11] www.balkaninsight.com/2018/10/13/protest-in-vukovar-for-more-effective-war-crimes-prosecutions-10-12-2018/ [accessed 18 November 2018].

4.3 Vukovar water tower ‘memorial’ with scaffolding: Vukovar, Croatia. 18 October 2017.

4.4 Vukovar water tower scale model: Vukovar, Croatia, 18 October 2017.

For the purposes of analysing this case study, two tendencies uncovered by scholars working on memorialisation processes in Vukovar are of particular importance. Firstly, Vukovar suffers from a 'surfeit' of memory, encouraged not least by state level intervention in local memorialisation.[12] Secondly, as Baillie (2012, 9) argues, the volume and location of the monuments and how they are presented 'engrain sites of atrocity, the former frontlines and contemporary geo-political boundaries into the fabric of the city.' Vukovar's memorials are thus, to a large extent, divisive, and while much local memory work is focused on not forgetting, the memorials offer little possibility for agency of any kind to be exerted by ordinary residents. In light of this situation, a close analysis of what was until very recently a remarkably different situation at a nearby rural site, and of the role of landscape at that site, is very revealing.

4.3 The 1991 Massacre in the Former Clover Field of Lovas

On 17 October 1991, a clover field on the edge of the village of Lovas was mined in the night by Serb paramilitaries during their occupation of Eastern Slavonia. According to an active legal indictment filed with the court of the ICTY, the next day, more than fifty local men who had been held overnight in the warehouse of the municipal agricultural cooperative were made to walk through the village toward the main road connecting Vukovar to the border village of Ilok. In response to their questions, the Croatian villagers were told that they were to go into the fields to harvest grapes but as they were given none of the tools necessary to gather the fruit, they suspected this was a lie.[13] At the southern edge of the field the men were arranged in a single row and forced at gunpoint to hold hands and cross the field. To cross meant to demine the field, and the detonations and gunfire that followed killed twenty-one men, and fourteen more were wounded.[14]

Among the wounded was Ivan Mujić, who now plays a central role in the local memorial activities centred on the field.[15] Ivan gave his testimony to both the Belgrade regional courts and the ICTY. He continues to be preoccupied with the role of witness and the responsibilities it carries: 'I will tell everyone

[12] The historian Charles Maier coined the term and questioned if there was a 'surfeit of memory' in contemporary scholarly and popular reflections on history (1992).
[13] Ivan Mujić and Antun Ivanković Interview, December 2018. The harvest as a spoil of war is arguably particularly contentious in this region given the history of the violent 'occupation' by the Uštase in the second world war. In the escalating violence of 1942 the Partisans anti-Axis resistance movement fought under the banner 'Not a Single Grain for the Occupant' and sought to prevent the Ustaše and German forces from reaping the harvest from the rich and fertile fields of Slavonia 'the breadbasket of Yugoslavia' (Majski 1985; Sekulić 1978 as quoted in Baillie 2020). This agricultural identity still applies to the region. As recently as 2018 an exhibition at the Ethnographic Museum (Etnografski muzej) in Zagreb maintained the designation of the harvest in Eastern Slavonia as a vital asset and the ceremonial acts of its cultivation as intangible cultural heritage. Fieldnote Zagreb, December 2018. See: ww.emz.hr/Exhibitions/Past/208/_12440 accessed: 11 November 2018.
[14] The War Crimes Chamber of the Belgrade District Court: Indictment War Crimes Prosecutor Vladimir Vukčević, 28 November 2007.
[15] In some ICTY testimony in the Hague Ivan's name is recorded as Ivica Mujić. See the testimony that describes Ivan's wounding in the field ICTY-Hadžic, (2012) IT-04-75-Testimony of Witness: GH-095 pp. 1822 - 1834: 'He was helping Ivica Mujić who was wounded during the first round of shooting.'

about what happened in Lovas. I will continue to tell anyone who will listen.'[16] In his witness statements, he described in detail the men's entrance to the site from the road, the positions of the snipers on raised hillocks, the direction the men were made to walk, and the names of those who died, as well as where they fell and how, and who lay wounded. Due to his ability to repeat the topographic and other material details consistently, Ivan's testimony was found to be very reliable and was arguably of central importance in the case of four legal indictments, it resulted in Lovas being declared a crime scene in the archive of the ICTY in the first place.[17] However, the indictments have resulted in convictions for only eight of the original fourteen indicted, and all defendants may still appeal the decision. The protracted legal cases have resulted in local resentments against the international transitional justice regime and the Croatian and Serbian judiciary. Similar to many residents in neighbouring Vukovar, Ivan expresses a sense of betrayal by the judiciary, but perhaps with a greater sense of abandonment: 'They have failed, there is no justice. All the courts failed to hold our story.'[18] As I show below, the memorialisation of the massacre needs to be seen not only in light of the sense of isolation experienced by the survivors and their local communities, but also in conjunction with the particular landscape conditions set by a rural field.

Rural Memorialisation in the Face of Oblivion and Marginalisation

For twenty-five years, the trauma and violence that occurred in the field have been commemorated with little state or official attention. Ivan plays a central role in the performance of the commemorative acts that animate the site on its anniversary. Every year he has arranged for votive candles to be set along the side of the road leading to the field and for wreaths to be laid at the foot of the memorial cross in the village [Figure 4.5 and 4.6]. These acts were, until recently, only locally observed with the occasional presence of some regional representatives[19] (the commemoration on 18 October 2016, for instance, was attended by the victims' family members, residents of the village of Lovas, local clergy, and only a few regional politicians). During my first research visit in 2017, I found that the field and the violent event that occurred there were barely known in Vukovar, which lies only twenty-two kilometres north.

[16] Ivan Mujić interview, 18 October 2017.
[17] Slobodan Milošević, Serbian president (1989-1997) and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1997 – 2000) was overthrown due to electoral manipulations in 2000 and extradited to the Hague in 2001. He died in 2006, before his trial was completed for war crimes in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo. Goran Hadžić was President of SAO East Slavonia (1991-1992) and the RSK (1992-1993) and leader of East Slavonia (1994-1997). In 2011 he was arrested in Serbia and extradited to the ICTY for trial for war crimes against Croats and Non-Serbs. Both were indicted for crimes committed in Lovas. See: The Prosecutor of the Tribunal against Goran Hadzic – Indictment. The Hague: 24 May 2004. http://www.icty.org/x/cases/hadzic/ind/en/had-ii040716e.thm. Retrieved 29 May 2017.
[18] Ivan Mujić interview, 18 October 2017.
[19] For example, victims' family members, residents of the village of Lovas, regional politicians, local religious authorities and a representative from the non-governmental organisation from Serbia, Women in Black attended the commemoration held on October 18th, 2016.

4.5 Lovas field memorial wreaths and candles from 2017 ceremony. 18 October 2017.

4.6 Lovas candles lit along the route from the municipal building to the field at Lovas, Croatia. 18 October 2017.

When I asked residents of Vukovar for directions to Lovas, they consistently drew maps indicating the river as an orienting device for the series of memorial sites that parallel its journey south [Figure 4.7]. The only rural site that is mentioned in the context of Vukovar is Ovçara, the farmyard site of a war time massacre with a formal field memorial and war museum [Figure 4.8].[20] Until its inclusion is requested, Lovas will not appear on the tour of memory sites along the river boundary. As Ivan remarks: 'Lovas is the second largest mass grave after Ovčara, but nobody knew that'[21] [Figure 4.9].

The field at first glance appears unremarkable, a managed agricultural field like so many others across the fertile Pannonian plain between the Danube and Sava rivers. The field however remains barren and unplanted; it is merely ploughed once a year to prevent the growth of opportunistic seeds.[22] The violence enacted in/on the landscape has disrupted the field's former rhythms of dwelling, making it a novel 'taskscape' (Ingold 1993), permanently transfiguring, but not to ever to return.[23] In spring when the surrounding fields reflect the green of new growth for vines, maize and clover, this field only shows the scrub growth of weeds in its wind worn furrows. In summer, the memorial field is at its highest point of contrast with its surroundings, for while tractors can be heard all around working into the late hours of daylight, it remains dormant and unproductive, a cultivated bareness. In early autumn there are only minor signs of management while its neighbours bear fruit and grain. Just before the minefield anniversary on 18 October, the field is freshly ploughed. In winter, no nitrogen fixing crop is planted and the field is invisible under the snow. Other than the cypress trees that line the concrete path to the locally funded memorial cross in the field, there is little to draw attention to Lovas and its violent history [Figure 4.10].

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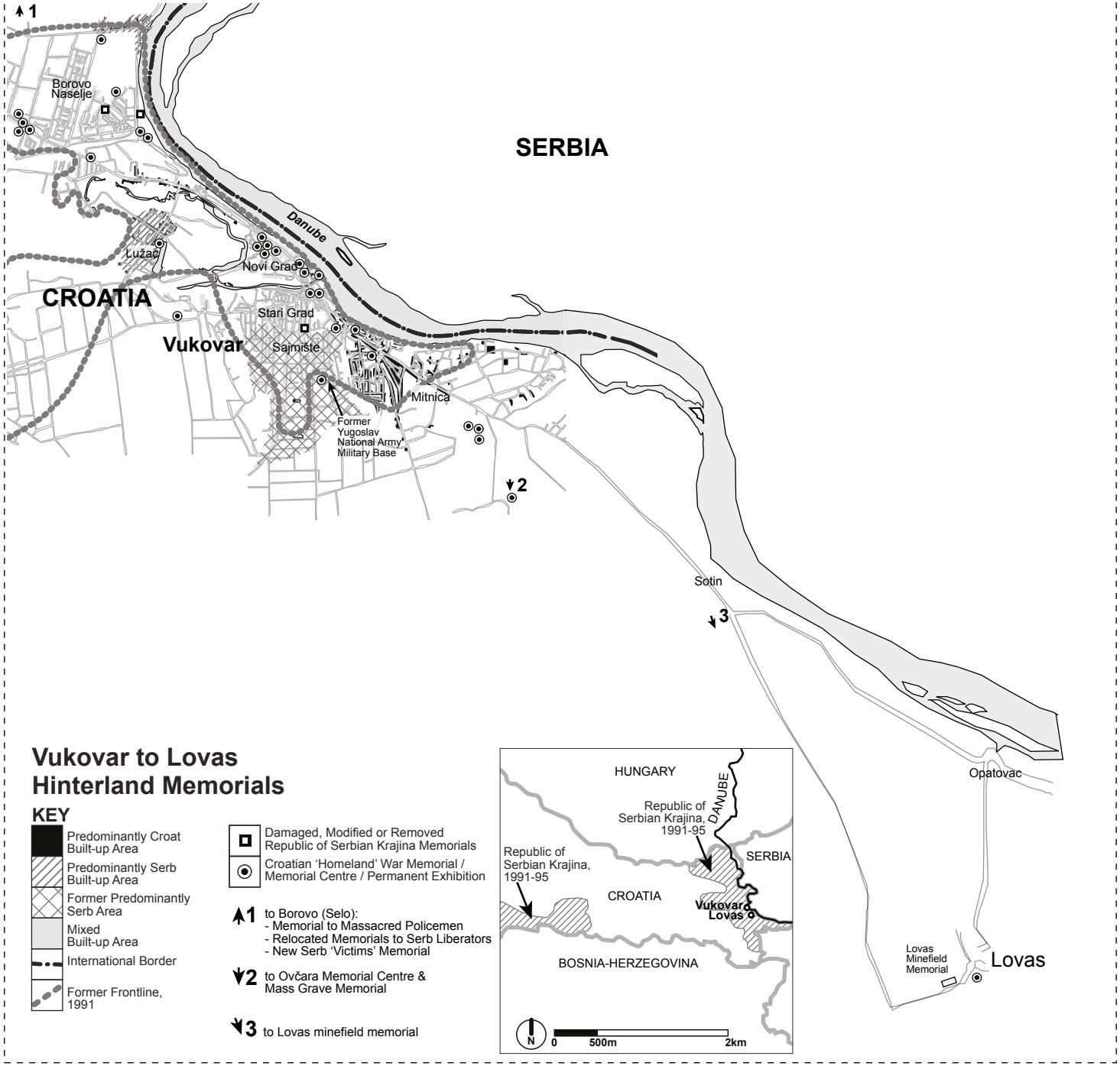
[20] Two days after the fall of Vukovar on the 20th of November 1991, it is alleged that Serb paramilitary and Territorial Defence soldiers killed at least 200 Non-Serbs and buried them in a mass grave near the Ovčara farm 5 kilometres south-east of Vukovar. Although the exact number of people killed remains unconfirmed, the ICTY Trial Chamber noted that the death of more than 200 persons was not precluded by findings that 200 human bodies were exhumed from the mass grave at Ovčara. See *Prosecutor v. Mile Mrksić, Miroslav Radić and Veselin Slijivančanin*, ICTY Trial Chamber Judgement, Case No. IT-95-13/1 (27 December 2007), 26.

[21] Ivan Mujić interview 17 October 2017. The mass grave in Lovas was dug in the cemetery of the local church in 1991. After the minefield event the dead were loaded into a truck which remained for two days at the check-point to the village before being buried in the mass grave. They were exhumed in 1996 and sent for examination to a forensic institute in Zagreb. ICTY-Hadžić, (2012) IT-04-75-Testimony of Witness: GH-095. Mass graves are commonly marked with the official state marker designed by Croatian sculptor Slavomir Drinković (1951 – 2016) referred to as 'cracked birds / *napukle ptice*.' The Christian cross is depicted in the crack of the black granite slab and features a flying dove as a negative silhouette carved out of the stone. These are found as memorials to mark areas of heavy fighting particular in eastern Slavonia and northern Dalmatia. More than sixty-eight black obelisk monuments have been built in Croatia, commemoration 114 mass graves and exclusively mark sites for victims of 'Greater Serbian aggression' (Pavlaković 2019, 236). The Croatian government's first efforts to regulate memorials was in 1996 with a law on the marking of mass grave sites. *Narodne novine 79/*96, November 21, 1996. http://narodne-novime.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1996_11_100_1963.html [Accessed: 10 April 2017].

[22] In 2009, Sandra Vitaljić began taking photographs of 'the places that in various ways construct the national history and identity' of the former Yugoslavia. She identified the field in Lovas as one such place. Her research produced the book *Infertile Grounds* (*Neplodna tla*) (2012, 0029).

[23] Saul (2018, 441) makes a similar argument for post-disaster activities in landscapes that cause a rupture in the normative rhythms of dwelling in those landscapes.



4.7 Map of area from Vukovar to Lovas Hinterland Memorials: designed by J Fyfe. Special thanks to Lefkos Kyriacou and the Centre for Urban Conflict Research, University of Cambridge for the vector maps used to produce this image.

4.8 Ovçara Memorial Centre and empty farm buildings: Ovçara, Vukovar-Sirmium County, Croatia. 18 October 2017.

4.9 Official Homeland War memorial, ‘Cracked Birds’ designed by Slavomir Drinković at the Chapel St. Floriana cemetery in Lovas to mark a mass grave. Photo: Tanja Čirba, Municipality of Lovas News Gazette (*Lovaski List*) 18 October 2019.

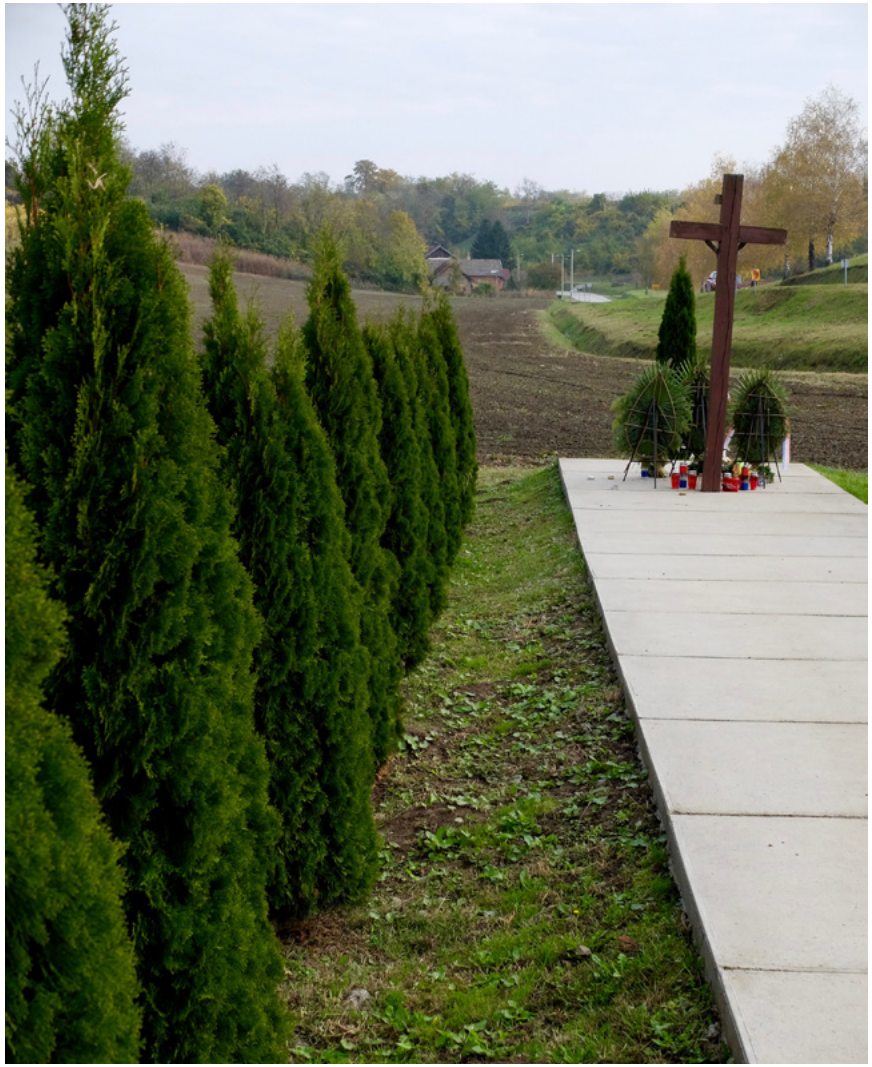
4.10 The Lovas memorial field looking west toward the road:
Infertile Grounds (Neplodna tla) (2012). Photo: Sandra Vitaljić.

The Lovas field is open to performance and embodied experience, unlike Vukovar's ruined water tower which does not allow for the violence and destruction associated with it to be re-enacted. Physical access to the tower is limited, because it is managed by the authorities and because ruined buildings are generally unsafe. Unlike the tower, the field's function as a memory site can be activated at any time through perambulation. At my first in situ interview with Ivan, he stands on the recently constructed access road and explains that he does not 'see' the field from this perspective, as he will always remember being made to cross at gunpoint from east to west.[24] This is why the figure of Christ on the Cross mounted on the existing memorial does not greet those who proceed along the path that leads partway into the field, but instead faces the emptiness of unsown farmland [Figure 4.11a and 4.11b]. To demonstrate, his point, Ivan holds his hands out to grasp others unseen and walks slowly across the tilled earth, to the hillocks on the perimeter where armed men had waited and watched and to the road running parallel into Lovas, where lorries waited for the dead and wounded to be taken to a hospital over the border at Ilok, into territory held by the Serbian paramilitary.[25] In our interview Ivan also describes the field as a 'stage' and the orchestration of the event as a sequence, 'like in a film.' These details abstract the field as the landscape is described as the backdrop, a 'scene,' traditionally associated with the theatre and the world of illusion and unreality. These details may also point to a contrasting regard for the field, however, in its literal sense. Standing in the field with Ivan it is clear this is also a privileged landscape for him, a landscape that, in his memorial and commemorative practice, he has designated as a singular place. As Tuan has argued, 'a scene may be of a place but the scene itself is not a place' unlike a scene that is defined by its perspective, a 'place' appears 'to have a stable existence independent of the perceiver' (Tuan 1996, 447; 1977; 1979). This landscape is clearly a stable place in Ivan's conception of it, however, the dynamic natures of both memory and landscape render the meaning of this place in tension as an ensemble of the history, experiences and aspirations of a community.

On the drawings he made for me these elements in Ivan's conception are marked in overlapping layers as a thickening description recalling the work of Geertz. Elements including the field perimeter, the location of the mines, the direction of movement, the dead and wounded, and they will reappear on each drawing produced during subsequent site visits [Figure 4.12, 4.13a and 4.13b].

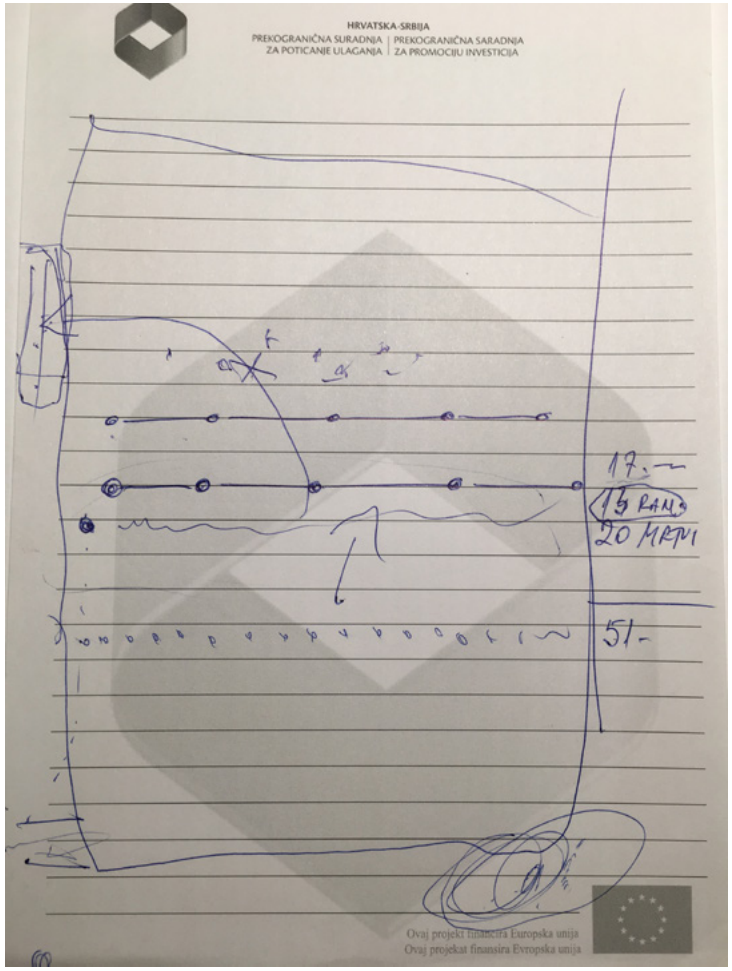
[24] Ivan Mujić interview, 18 October 2016. For a discussion on the long epistemic history of the meaning of place caught between a substantial, historically constituted domain and its reduction to an insubstantial location in space see (Olwig 2001).

[25] After the break-up of the Socialist Yugoslavia in 1992, Serbia and Montenegro established a federation as the two remaining federal republics. The hospital Ivan was sent to would have been considered to be in the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), but as it was before it was formally established Ivan said that he was sent to a hospital in 'Serbia.' Ivan Mujić interview, 18 October 2016.

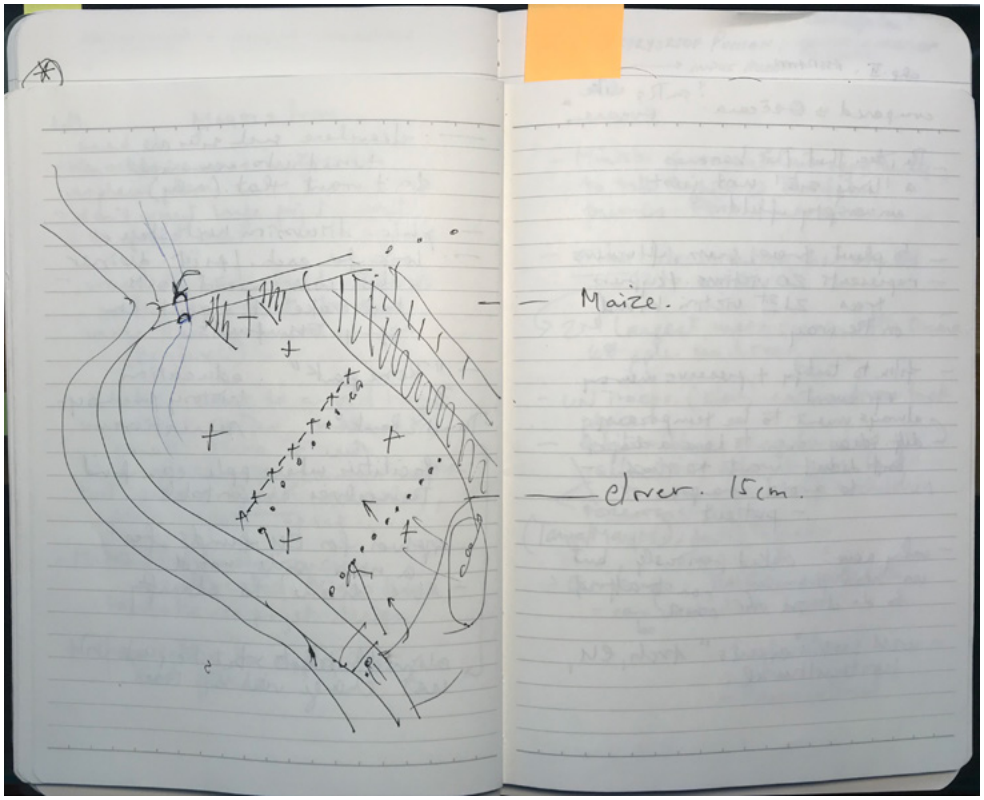


4.11a The cross faces the empty field: Lovas Vukovar-Sirmium County, Croatia. 28 October 2016.

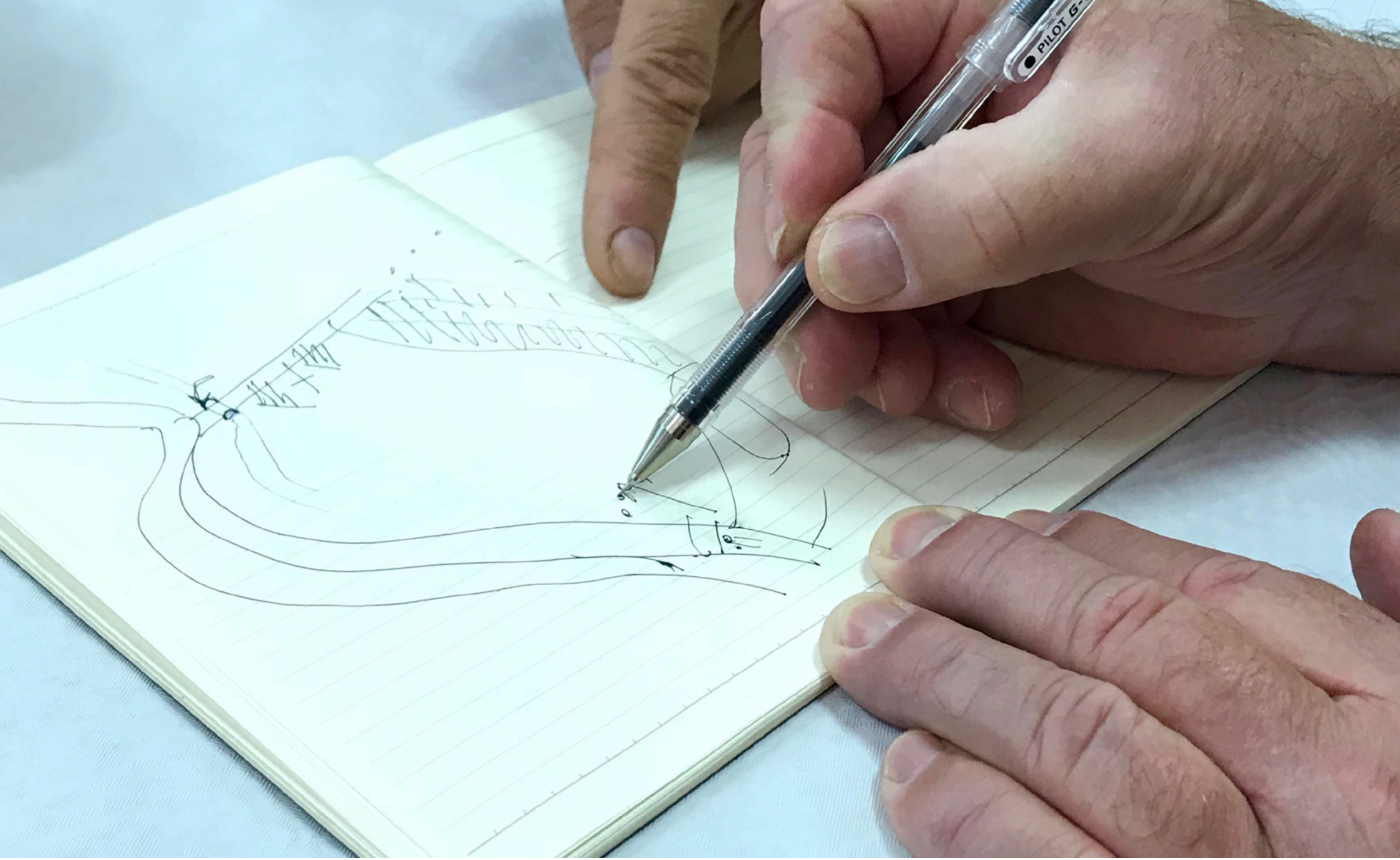
4.11b Ivan Mujić prepares for the 2017 memorial service: Lovas Vukovar-Sirmium County, Croatia. 18 October 2017.



4.12 Initial spontaneous hand drawn site map of the minefield produced by Ivan Mujić on *Općina Lovas* (Lovas Municipality) letterhead. Lovas, Vukovar county. 10 November 2016.



4.13a Hand drawn site map with 'corrections' by Ivan Mujić and other survivors including the culvert (in blue) where one man hid and escaped, 10 March 2017: Municipal building, Lovas, Vukovar county.



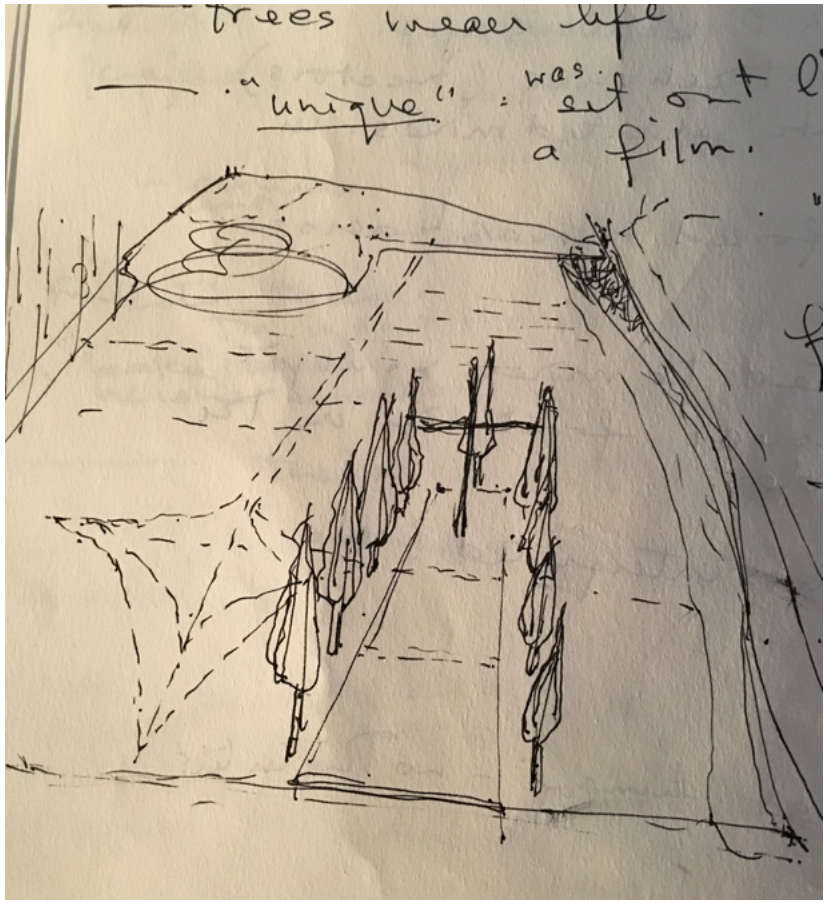
4.13b Hand drawn site map co-produced with Ivan Mujić
and other survivors, 18 October 2017: Lovas, Vukovar county.

The initial drawing is made at least in part to aid my understanding through translation. Ivan takes the pad on the desk in his municipal office and draws the field from his memory, without the cross and cypress trees. I do not intervene in this drawing. I point with my finger to ask for clarification, he marks the page again, the translation follows, he marks the page again as the men near the field, as they splay out with guns trained at their backs. Each dense dot represents an explosive mine. The story unfolds, and once the explosion is marked with an 'x' I learn which of the symbols represents him and the site of his injury. The arrow is drawn off the field to mark his transfer to the waiting truck. Further topographic and narrative elements are added as more survivors join in later interviews: a culvert is drawn by a survivor who crawled into it and managed to escape; arrows are added; there are dashed and dotted representations of walking and falling, dead and dying, but there is little change to the orientation that the landscape provides (Sidaway 2009; Pearson 2006) [Figure 4.14]. The landscape holds the story in place.

The embodied act of ploughing modifies a centuries-old agricultural custom to suit the local memorial practices, and visually registers that this field is now different from its productive neighbours.[26] This practice draws attention to the field as memorial and thereby also signifies its difference from other nearby memory strategies. The landscape does not receive acknowledgement as an example of cultural heritage as does, for example, Lovas's Church of St. Michael the Archangel in Lovas, constructed in 1769, looted and destroyed in 1991 and recently reconstructed, or as do the objects and war memorials found at Ovčara and Vukovar, housed in memorial centres, where narratives of similar traumatic experiences can be made explicit and discursively deemed static (Olick 2007) [Figure 4.15, 4.16a, 4.16b and 4.17]. Despite the ploughing, the landscape remains subject to the seasons and weather; it is mutable, and as such it has the capacity to be an evocative and effective medium to communicate memory and meaning without explicit direction or management [Figure 4.18a – 4.18d].

Scholars have emphasised that Vukovar's memorials either neglect or actively repress instances of Serbian suffering (Baillie 2012). The memory practices at Lovas are certainly focused on Croatian victimhood and exhibit little explicit indications of a desire for reconciliation with their Serbian neighbour. However, there is also evidence of a potentially inclusive dimension at Lovas which can be related to both its local commemorative enactments and the way these make use of the field.

[26] The field on the edge of Lovas has been marked as agricultural land in landownership atlas' as early as 1733. See the following selection of atlas and cadastral maps: Atlas vukovarskog vlastelinstva, 1733, Map production by the imperial engineer Johann Philip Frast, Vienna, original located in the museum of Slavonija in Osijek (Facsimile edition 2006) p. 57 'Louas/Lovas'; Habsburg Empire Cadastral map Lovas, 1863 and Kotar Lovas Detaljni List br. 12, 1960.



4.14 Hand drawn site map 'facing the wrong direction' co-produced with Ivan Mujić and Antun Ivanković, 17 October 2018: Municipal building, Lovas, Vukovar county.

4.15 Lovas Church of St. Michael the Archangel post conflict renovation: Lovas, Vukovar county, 10 October 2017.

4.16a Ovçara Memorial Centre interior: with bullet casings embedded in the concrete floor and display vitrines with victims' personal belongings. Ovçara, Vukovar-Sirmium County, Croatia. 18 October 2017.

4.16b Ovçara Memorial Centre interior: 'eternal flame' with projection of names of victims spiraling down in continuous loop. Ovçara, Vukovar-Sirmium County, Croatia. 18 October 2017.

4.17 View of the Vukovar Municipal Museum: Vukovar county, 18 October 2017.

4.18a Lovas memorial field in Summer: Mirka Latas, Municipality of Lovas News Gazette (*Lovaski List*) 2 July 2019.

4.18b Lovas memorial field, autumn nearing winter: Lovas, 2018.

4.18c Lovas memorial field, winter: Lovas, 2018.

4.18d Lovas memorial field annual seasonal time lapse from 2006 – 2017 (field marked with white dotted line). Image produced by J. Fyfe with Google Earth data.

A representative of the Serbian association, Women in Black Belgrade, attended one of the recent annual ceremonies in Lovas, which is in itself remarkable.[27] Her response to the site is revealing as it shows how the site and its practices create a distinctive space of commemorative participation which seemingly opens the possibility of mutual recognition. To her, the field memorial 'humbles rather than memorialises.' She speaks of the field as something that 'should live', and which must 'inspire and breathe.' Crucially, she identifies what appears *absent* at the commemorative acts in Lovas but which is precisely what hinders mutual recognition at many other memorials, namely the intrusive presence of 'militarism and religiosity.' To her, state and church 'abuse the tragedy and reduce the victims to their deaths.' This observation seems relevant to the larger situation in Croatia as much as Serbia, and she implies a certain bi-communal solidarity with the victims and survivors in this regard. She adds: 'If they are free [from state and church] then they memorialise differently.' Most remarkably, she acknowledges and expresses empathy for the memory value of the site to the local community. 'To respect the field, and recognise the act of aggression to the soil, is to also recognise how they built their lives, as farmers, give them seeds to plant for restorative justice, to decontaminate and heal.' In this statement we find the most explicit recognition of the specific role and potential of landscape in helping people to remember and cope with the legacy of violence and trauma. Landscape here reveals itself both in its quality as a setting of cyclical, habitual rural practices and in its metaphoric, affective capacity.

The clover field at Lovas has given rise to distinct memory practices that are rooted in the rurality of the local community. The commemoration of the 'Day of Suffering' begins with a prayer vigil and scripture readings in the courtyard of the cooperative warehouse still used today for storing agricultural machinery, but had in the days of the village occupation been used to detain the men before the fateful walk to the clover field. The microphone for the parish priest Pavlo Kolarevic is set to face a small stand of benches on which the elderly and the very young are encouraged to sit and take part in the ritual of remembrance. Between them is the concrete pad on which tractors continue to transport the harvest and where the men like Ivan were battered before they were forced to leave the compound, to walk past the school, and the length of the street before turning left downhill and out of the village toward the waiting minefield. The building and its courtyard are temporarily altered to become a site of memory without foregoing their necessary agricultural function. The practical purposes of the courtyard for turning heavy vehicles, the high gates to protect the community assets, the security of a single padlock, the offices for coordination and dark rooms for crop storage are all reconfigured and estranged through the narrative of the minefield event. The building is marked with a small plaque that links the clover field and its false harvest to the

[27] Women in Black is an international 'antimilitarist peace organisation' that engages in non-violent actions including direct action and public vigils. Women in Black Belgrade are also concerned with 'visiting difficult places' and 'where crimes occurred' in order 'to acknowledge the crimes committed in our name, looking for forgiveness for crimes and suffering and bringing compassion for others' suffering.' *Confronting the Past*. (2018) Available at: www.Zeneucrnom.org/index.Php?option+com_content&task+view&id=18&ltemid=17 [accessed 12 February 2018].

agricultural cycle of planting, collecting and, storing, binding together living memory and the living site of the field to other physical sites in the village bringing a certain degree of stability to the memory that the field, left on its own cannot afford.

At first, the capacity of a landscape to 'forget' a violent event through natural renewal or the return to agricultural use, provoked the community to counter what they perceived as an unacceptable process of oblivion. This has been reinforced by an indignation at the perceived lack of justice as well a sense of being excluded from Vukovar's network of memorial sites with all their public notoriety. As a community in which farming continues to be a source of livelihood, they have found spontaneous and distinctively agricultural ways to claim the field for their own specific commemorative purposes. Precisely by deploying the rural practice of ploughing, they have precisely kept the site from simply returning to its habitual rural purpose prior to the massacre. It is anything but a memorial park, as formal landscaping has been kept to a bare minimum. Neither ruin, nor memorial in any conventional sense, it is nevertheless actively cultivated as a wound. In contrast to the water tower in Vukovar, its character as a wound is visible primarily to the community, while to the external gaze it remains unremarkable, easily driven past, its value as an unsettled site of commemoration invisible. If, however, the field is to remain a wound, if it is to endure, continue to be a scar, it requires only a little regular work.

The ordinariness of the practice of ploughing, its very ephemerality, evades the conventions of formal memorials that tend to codify and 'fix' commemoration.[28] The field does not speak to the community only as a representation, but also as a medium through which to enact commemoration. Ivan can choose to use the field to re-enact events for specific audiences in his role as survivor and witness. However, commemoration at the field, particularly during the preparations for the anniversary, is experiential in a habitual sense. The cultivated barrenness of the field does not purport to invite visitors to 'experience' violence or loss, as so many formal memorial sites often do. The commemorations in the field are shaped by the specific nature of the events and the locale in which they took place. Marginalisation by both city and state have paradoxically allowed the community to exercise an unusual degree of agency in remembering their traumas in their own ways. Yet these local and temporary responses are inherently fragile, and in a paradoxical turn, threatened by an ongoing sense among victims that their suffering must receive wider recognition.

[28] The use of the recurrent root metaphor of 'fix' thinking in geographical political economy theories of the last three decades is discussed in (Bok 2018). In this dissertation its use is more aligned to the 'spatial fix' metaphor used in political geography of the 1980s. Although not considered in terms of a spatial resolution to capitalism's contradictions as originally formulated in David Harvey's work (1981, 6) the geological metaphor employed by Doreen Massey (1984; 1991) to depict the layering of regional histories and the social production of spatial scales is more appropriate for the purposes of this dissertation.

4.4 Newfound Prominence and the Making of Official Memory

The locally driven memorial treatment of the field at Lovas is about to change. A recent documentary, 'The Bloody Grape Harvest' (2017) directed by Silvijo Mirošničko and produced by Antun Ivanković focuses on events in Lovas. Ivanković states he was motivated by the fact that 'nobody has responded to this crime.'[29] The film is a series of interviews in which witnesses respond to questions unheard asked by interviewers unseen. In the film, the field itself appears only a handful of times, most prominently when survivors stand in the centre of it, arms outstretched, demonstrating the movement they were forced to make. The film has gained national attention and resulted in a renewed interest in the violent narratives of the site.[30] Community representatives are now requesting funds from the Ministry of Croatian Veterans and the European Union for a formal memorial park. Although the field has not yet been transformed, the increased media attention and local preparations for the bid have already had a significant effect. Moreover, it is possible to infer some of the implications of a memorial park for the local community from the established network of memorials in Vukovar and the establishment of memorial parks elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

Following the release of the film, the commemoration activities have included a public screening in the local community hall [Figures 4.19a and 4.19b].[31] At the premier of the film in the village in 2017 all the seats were occupied and those without stood against the walls and along the back of the hall. Many of those interviewed on screen were present. The Mayor of Lovas, Tanja Çirba, introduced the film thanking the victims for having the courage to speak of their trauma and also thanking those who funded the film including the Ministry of Croatian Veterans Affairs, the county of Vukovar-Srijem, the Archdiocese of Gjakova-Osijek and the municipality. An envoy of the Croatian Defence Minister a retired MUP officer Stipo Rimac, visibly moved by the film, spoke to the assembled crowd of his own memories of the reburials at the mass grave in Lovas in 1998. Following the screening the film maker reminded all that no one had yet been held responsible for the crimes committed in Lovas and spoke of the importance of the film's dissemination 'across the homeland and the world' as it was to be translated into English.[32] Local people who wanted to attend the official opening of the film were bussed to the capital, where the minister of veteran affairs was present.

[29] Closing remarks at public screening in Lovas, 18 October 2017.
[30] Following the film's release in 2017 community members from Lovas were invited to attend the official opening and buses were arranged by the Lovas Mayor's office to Zagreb where the Croatian Minister of Veteran Affairs, Andrej Plenković, was also in attendance. He subsequently became involved in centralised funding commitments for an official memorial in the former clover field.
[31] Silvio Mirošničenko*, Krvava Berba Grožda* (Bloody Grape Harvest) 2017.
[32] Subsequent screenings have been held in Vukovar, Osijek, Našice, Sinj, Split, and recently in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia Herzegovina. 18 October Fieldnote. Also see *Lovas List* newsletter at: https://www.lovas.hr/vijest/odrzana-lovaska-premijera-krvave-berbe-grozda-1227/

4.19a Crowds before the film screening of 'The Bloody Grape Harvest' documentary at the Lovas Municipal Centre: 18 October 2017.

4.19b Lovas Municipal Centre: 18 October 2017.

Ivan Mujić has attended many of these events. In addition, he has been recently asked by state media to retell the story on camera, on radio, and in print [Figure 4.19c, 4.19d and 4.19e].

On the occasions when Ivan is interviewed next to the field he situates the narrative of the minefield experience in physical space. As Winter writes, 'collective remembrance is a matter of activity…someone carries a message, a memory, and needs to find a way to transmit it to others' (Winter 2010, 61). The interviews Ivan gives are occasions to (re)testify and arguably have served to validate local feelings of suffering more so than the courts in either Belgrade, or The Hague. The Minister of Veteran Affairs, after seeing the film, became interested in funding an official memorial in the former clover field. The President of Croatia, Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović, who had previously been invited to the commemoration events in Lovas, made her first attendance in October 2018, although she did not visit the field itself as it was late in the day and therefore considered 'too dark.'[33]

With funding from the state and the EU now likely, local discussions have turned to design intentions for a memorial and park.[34] These deliberations have revealed old resentments in the community and laid bare the fragility of their own local memory practices; Ivan for instance makes clear that the community does not wish to include any reference to either the Croatian or international judiciaries. But he believes that plans will go ahead and implies that the local practices were merely a temporary response: 'There were promises made before, for funding. We couldn't afford to do it on our own.'[35] Ivan to some extent sees the locally developed approach to the site as the result of this relative powerlessness, implying that the community always wanted a more elaborate memorial. He expects formalisation and greater regional and national attention to enliven the site: 'the site will become a living site, not just an empty field.' One might ask: a living site to whom? Although the memory practices cultivated around and in the field over the past twenty-five years were anything but 'empty,' sudden official attention now makes them appear as insufficient, apparently even to locals, and perhaps especially to locals. It remains open to debate as to whether the community's desire for a more conventional memorial of the sort seen in Vukovar is about addressing local needs or about increasing locals' visibility to those who have so far neglected them. Although Ivan frames the planned transformation in terms of community needs, for instance, through the provision of a playground that local children currently lack, it is arguably the external gaze that has begun to shape local perceptions of memorialisation.

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[33] Ivan Mujić interview, 7 December 2018.

[34] The initial stage of a design competition is currently in its first of three phases of its public tender process (submission of bids was received 9 April 2019) sponsored by the Municipality of Lovas in cooperation with the Ministry of Croatian Defenders. The subject and scope for the project includes a memorial area of the Mine Field with a monument and Interpretation Center (*Spomen Područje Minsko Polje sa Spomenkiom I Interpretacijskim Centrom U Lovasu*). The tendering document states that due to the significance of events in Lovas 'at the national level' they should be 'duly recorded in space as a permanent memory' (authors translation). https://www.lovas.hr/fileadmin/Dokumenti/2019/Oglas_o_raspisu_NATJECAJA_Lovas.pdf [accessed February 2019].

[35] Ivan Mujić interview 18 October 2017.

4.19c Ivan Mujić and Croatian news media in the memorial Field: Lovas, Vukovar county, 18 October 2017.

4.19d News media preparing before minefield memorial service: Lovas, Vukovar county, 18 October 2017.

4.19e News Media in the field recording memorial service:
Lovas, Vukovar county, 18 October 2017.

From Minefield to Parkland

The recent conception of the field as a memorial park need not mean that the local customs that had traditionally been performed will not endure, but along with its new designation there would be formalised rules for its use as parkland. The funding awarded by the EU would likely come with consequences by virtue of the funding bodies' involvement, an ordering of behaviour and principles in accordance with what a valuable investment would entail. These may include considerations of accessibility, maintenance, and safety and may also involve wider aspirations for the promotion of reconciliation and justice. A successful application would need to meet requirements and criteria and result in a new procedural relationship with the state and supra-state. Whatever the local deliberations and practices the formal memorial project would be tied to a certain prescribed deadline, which would have to be met in order not to lose the funds.

Productive sites of memory, those that may serve the purposes of reconciliation, and which in turn would require some sort of active participation by the Serbian community or state, need a great deal of time, for they need to progress at a local pace, must be allowed to stall and even regress. Also, there would potentially need to be more than a mere memorial, which would be likely to divide the community and exacerbate persistent tensions. However, to Ivan Mujić the important thing, as he explains, is that the stories will have a permanency: what happened there and those who died would not be forgotten even when he is no longer able to manage the commemoration.[36] The memorial and the film would continue a public dialogue about the past, keeping it in the present-day reality.[37]

Unlike the film, which documents a singular telling of the testimony of survivors, the site will accumulate layers of signification and re-signification, landscape not being a record but a 'recording.' Both the digital landscape of the film and the imagined memorial park would form part of an active process that creates a new and shared, collective identity.[38] The field will endure as a memory site, very likely with an altered relationship to the narratives of the official actors, including the church, and to its wartime history. Although local customs may not dramatically alter, the physical space will, from a deliberately barren agricultural field to a maintained parkland, perhaps inhabited by the Twelve Stations of the Cross (*Križni Put*), or a series of benches that will prescribe views, or paths to orchestrate movement. There are already

[36] Ivan Mujić interview 18 October 2016.
[37] In a subsequent interview with a municipal worker on 18 December 2017, who was tasked with the EU funding submission for the memorial park in Lovas, remarked that although he was not old enough to remember the war: 'what happened here cannot be forgotten, we have to remember out of respect' which appears to reflect a correspondence between the generations. Although the 'fixing' of the memory in a formalised or official memorial clearly concerns the future generations who live in Lovas, in particular its impact on their ability to adapt it or even forget, a discussion of the full implications however, is outside the scope of this dissertation.
[38] This is a similar formulation to Bender (2002b, 103) in which she proposes that 'landscape is time materialized. Or better, landscape is time materializing: landscapes, like time, never stand still.'

intentions to have the gravel access road widened to allow for school children and visitors to approach from the main road, and to add to the experience of the field through plaques that would narrate the violent historical events.[39] These smaller curatorial devices are analogous to those at the formal memorials and education centres in neighbouring villages at memorial sites.

The material changes to the site will more clearly mark the land without necessarily making any reference to its new relationship to the state and its ordering practices. The negotiation of this relationship and any accommodations to meet funding criteria may reveal, like many commemorative struggles, the tensions between local and state actors over historical knowledge and heritage (Stig Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015). This landscape has been maintained by the local community for more than twenty-five years as a privileged site of memory; it is a landscape experienced not solely as surface, but as the entanglement of embodied human experience and political territory with a wider spatio-temporal dimension, which now includes the innumerable regions of the internet. In the movement across sites of memorialisation from the physical to the digital, from private to public, the landscape undergoes a transition and this introduces possibilities for displacement, re-contextualisation, and politicisation; and these in turn raise critical challenges for the private commemorative practices of the community.[40] When asked whether Lovas should become part of the memory procession of Vukovar, Ivan still acknowledges the specificity and autonomy of local memory work: 'No…maybe. They have their stories, we have ours. Perhaps people, children on buses will come with their schools like in Vukovar.'[41] Ivan's 'no, maybe' attests to Lovas' deeply ambiguous relationship to the memory 'capital' Vukovar, a desire for recognition at the same time as an acknowledgement of difference and distinct local needs. In general, the people I interviewed did not reflect much on the site as landscape and were able to imagine another purpose of a hybrid functional programme for the site, though this would perhaps change if they no longer had control, or if multiple agendas begin to lay claims to it.

The local community appears to feel vindicated by the attention the film has brought them. Yet, while the filmmakers purport 'to testify and preserve the true memory of events,' the documentary omits the memory practices that have already done this work locally.[42] The film has inadvertently concealed that these practices are already spatially embedded in the landscape of the field. While the film has answered the local community's quest for greater public recognition, the sense of increased opportunity and agency

[39] Fieldnote note October 2017.
[40] The annual screening of the film has the potential to be a 'memory event' as described by Etkind (2010): 'a rediscovery of the past that creates a rupture with its accepted cultural meaning' or as defined by Blacker (Blacker et. al. 2013) an event that repeats in new, 'creative but recognizable forms, which circulate in cultural space and reverberate in time.' The significance of these memory events, in contrast to other standard ritual commemorations according to Etkind et al. (2013, 12), is that their value lies not in their repeatability, but rather, the they 'generate new memories bearing the structural imprint of the old ones,' leaving them more unstable, with less constancy.
[41] Ivan Mujić interview 18 October 2017.
[42] Antun Ivanković interview, 18 October 2017.

may be deceiving. The question is to what extent a formalised memorial could appeal to external constituencies without detrimental effects for the local communities' memory work. While the rural character of the site has offered opportunities for local commemoration, its status as an open landscape also renders it susceptible to drastic re-appropriation.[43] While the community is ostensibly in charge of planning the memorial park, it will be far less in control of the process that will come to govern it and of the effects an enlarged public will have on local memorialisation. If official attention is only intermittent or perceived as opportunistic, if regional interest fails to materialise, the local community's previous sense of abandonment will be aggravated rather than mitigated. Meanwhile, the site itself, in both a spatial and experiential sense, will be far more disconnected from its environs. It will stand out clearly from its rural context, unmoored from its seasonal patterns. Its care will be more cost-intensive, requiring more specialist attention. The act of ploughing, currently the central physical intervention, will certainly become marginalised or totally replaced by the more explicit and permanent landscaping mechanisms characteristic of war crime memorial parks. Indeed, as local memorialisation needs may change, the site itself will be less adaptive due to its formalisation.

4.4 Conclusion

In the field at Lovas we are confronted by its unsettledness, with a sense of its multiple, distinct yet overlapping landscapes: the pre-conflict agriculturally productive landscape, the landscape of disputed territory, the disturbed landscape of the minefield, the crime scene landscape that is before the courts, the virtual landscape of the film, and the landscape of ceremonious commemoration and perhaps regional or national pilgrimage. Nicholas Saunders (2001, 37) rightly describes this sort of collision as a 'palimpsest of overlapping, multi-vocal landscapes' with the complexity of the relations between intersecting

[43] The landscapes of the First World War can be seen as a European precedent for the idea of the 'natural healing' of landscape. In the killing fields of Verdun, to which the French had attached great importance for the outcome of the war, it is the pock marked battlefields that reveal changing ideas toward the landscape and its layered meanings over time. Local communities may not have been able to imagine the biological life that would return to the grenade holes and generate a sense of normality, nature able 'to absorb and transform mankind's destructive actions into new forms of life' generating a rich biotope for plants and amphibians (Paludan-Müller 2015, 263). The physical transformation of this battlefield landscape supports its reinterpretation as a symbolic site of reconciliation and recovery, however, interpretive paradigms are susceptible to shifts in ideology, and disputes may arise over the past, present or future of a landscape. In the immediate post-war period the identity of the battlefields, their function and materiality created tensions between local French farmers who wanted to 'return as soon as possible to the land, and other civilians, the military, and governments who, in part at least, wished to retain war-torn landscapes as a testament to German aggression and the sacrifice of so many men, and in part had to recognize officially that some zones would forever be unsafe' (Saunders 2001, 42). The French farming peasantry continued to resist the official assessments and repeatedly contested and petitioned for the 'zones rouges' of north-eastern France to be reduced in the decade after the armistice (Clout 1996). The management of conflict-related heritage even in conflicts understood as concluded can remain contested and open to reinterpretation or re-designation (Paludan-Müller 2015). The term 'recovery' for battlefield like these is considered too imprecise by military geographer Joseph Hupy (2006). He argues that 'post-disturbance landscape' of Verdun has resulted in a new trajectory of its natural development, it will never 'return' to a previous state. In the case of Lovas the field is not physically scarred and could actually return to its original state as a productive agricultural field.

landscapes evoked when people standing in one landscape try to imagine another.[44] However, unlike a palimpsest, where people write and re-write on its surface without much regard for what was written before, the various layers of inscriptions and markings in the clover field are interdependent, even when they seek to replace or erase one another. With the proposals for an official memorial this sense of multiple, distinct yet overlapping landscapes may give way to more stabilising forces that intend to 'fix' the narrative, interpretation, and experience of the site, and further entangle it in intersecting political-cultural spaces of memory, as well as in evolving regional and EU relationships.[45] Although the future development of the site is uncertain, I suggest that its new prominence and impending formalisation may challenge as much as aid the local community's ability to live with the legacy of traumatic memories.

Lovas continues to be a contested site. [46] The narrative of the events, from the perspective of the community, does not seem to be in contention; there is no alternate reading, and the efforts to maintain and manage memory remain locally driven. But attention on a national level, while it has been delayed, is now gaining momentum and public support.[47] The 'mixed blessing' of Lovas's newfound prominence speaks of the complex relationship between local agency and landscape in memorialisation practices. Due to its marginalisation and the relative absence of more centralised, state-led commemoration, the rural landscape has provided opportunities for the performative aspects of local memory practices that can thus far be characterised by an informal embodied and temporary approach. Yet the agency that locals exercise over the cultivation of their memory has not always been perceived as an asset. Local memory work embedded in rural responses to landscape has been revealed as inherently fragile, and now, a set of customs evolved over twenty-five years may be replaced by new, far more conventional and official memorialisation in a very short time. This may have less to do with any external coercion than with a local temptation to finally receive national recognition and benefit from official attention. While scholars

[44] Saunders' article concerns the social construction of the Western Front and this observation is made in Julian Thomas' response to Saunders's article (Thomas, 2001) in the same edited volume.
[45] Ivan Mujić interview 8 December 2018. The municipality of Lovas submitted a formal request to the Ministry of Croatian Veterans to legislate for a national day of memory for the victims of the minefield event. Included is the suggestion that white arm bands be worn as observance of the practice whereby ethnic Croatians were forced to wear identifying armbands while 'under occupation' in 1991.
[46] Two publications have been self-published and promoted by the municipality with funding support from the Ministry of Croatian Defenders. 'The Bloody Truth: In Memoriam' (*Krvava Istina: In Memoriam*) from 2003 contains a drawing of the minefield, describes the unveiling of memorial plaques and the cross in the field and also contains biographical stories of the survivors. In 2018, the municipality published 'The Bloody Truth: To Meet a New Life' (*Krvava Istina: Novome životu usuret*) with the financial aid of the Ministry of Croatian War Veterans. Funds were provided for an editor; English language translation and digital publication and is currently underway and expected in 2020). In addition to the history of the memorialisation practices in the village and personal accounts of the event (some adapted from witness testimony given at the ICTY) there are chapters on the war crimes trials. Interestingly the books focus and narrative centres on the narratives of survivors and the landscape is the scene of violence.
[47] The President of Croatia, Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović, had previously been invited to the commemoration events in Lovas, however, she made her first attendance only this past year in October 2018. She placed a wreath at the memorial cross in the centre of Lovas and did not visit the minefield site as it was considered 'too dark.' Ivan Mujić interview 8 December 2018.

have shown that Vukovar's surfeit of memory and memorials are largely a burden to its inhabitants, the inhabitants in Lovas have felt compelled to seize the 'opportunity' provided by the film to insert themselves into Vukovar's obsessive network of divisive memorials or a parallel version of it.

The locals I interviewed remained mainly ambivalent toward the site in its bare condition. They have seemed to find it far easier to re-imagine it as a memorial park of the sort that is deeply embedded in both the Socialist and post-Socialist imagination. In an attempt to counter their marginalisation and due to fears of 'forgetting' as the generation with immediate experience of their traumas die, they seem to be choosing to formalise, to make visually explicit and render permanent their memorialisation. As Winter (2010) argues, what is critical about sites of memory is that they are points of reference not only for survivors, with direct experience of events, but also for those born long after. The word *memory* becomes a metaphor for the fashioning of narratives about the past, and sites of memory inevitably become 'sites of second-order memory, places where people remember the memories of others' (Ibid., 313). It is through this very process that landscape could become a burden rather than a resource in terms of memory work for the local community. The 'fixing' of memory could pose a challenge to the new generation, and its capacity to both remember and forget in accordance with their needs. Certainly, the formalisation of the field into a park and permanent memorial would present fewer possibilities to adapt the site. Indeed, a further implication of any subsequent official marking of the site may have an impact on reconciliation efforts in Lovas and surrounding border villages. Arguably, it is the humble and un-monumentalised nature of the landscape memorial that allows for it to be perceived as less threatening or antagonistic than the highly politicised monuments of the Socialist era, or those in Vukovar or indeed other more formalised monuments in Lovas itself. In particular the central monument, the plinth mounted stone cross which stands across the street from the primary school on the corner of the road that leads out of town toward the field and toward Vukovar [Figure 4.20]. The symbolism easily registers as memorial, located as it is at an intersection with a plaque that reads of victimhood and suffering at the hands of violent aggressors. It has been the site of vandalism as recently as 2017 when red paint was thrown across its base [Figure 4.21]. Such vandalism, as Widrich (2016) argues, may expose not what the monument originally intended, but rather an aspect of its true status as witness to the protean, transformative or even creative aspects of memorial sculpture. The vandalism does seem to testify to the unsettled status of that monument, and its symbolism and narrative evidently continue to be contested, unlike the field, with its more ambiguous furrowed earth mounds, cypress trees, wooden cross and absence of narration, which has thus far remained undamaged.

4.20 President Grabar-Kitarovic placing a votive candle at the memorial cross at the central road intersection in Lovas 2018. Tanja Čirba, Municipality of Lovas News Gazette (*Lovaski List*) 'President of the Republic of Croatia has been Honoring Hundreds' (*Predsjednik Republike Hrvatske Postoji Čovjek*), 19 November 2018.

4.21 Vandalism of the memorial cross in Lovas in 2017: Municipality of Lovas News Gazette (*Lovaski List*), 1 September 2017.

Chapter 5
Conclusions: Agencies of Landscape in Post-Conflict Research

The traces left by past events never move in a straight line, but in a curve that can be extended into the future.

Marc Bloch, *Strange Defeat*.[1]

Apart from the power of memory to influence the present, there is also the power of the present to influence the memory.

J.W. Müller, *Memory and Power*.[2]

[1] (As cited in Schwartz 2010, 41).
[2] (Müller 2002, 34).

5.1 The Inconclusiveness of Unsettled Landscapes

The landscape of the former Yugoslavia, and the Balkan region more generally, is largely treated as the territory for persistent conflicting nationalist and ethnic identities and as the constructed and contested site for radical revisions of post-Socialist memory (Wittenberg 2015). Research has thus tended to privilege the sites and monuments that register battle, siege, grave human rights abuse, and victory with a predominant focus on national identity (Subotic 2018; Jansen 2009a). Much of the literature on the relationship between memory politics and place in the former Yugoslavia has focused on Bosnia-Herzegovina (Donia and Fine 1994; Ramet 2005b; Sindbaek Andersen and Törnquist-Plewa 2016). Croatia has yet to be the focus of more sustained study despite the prominence of its contested memory politics. Recently, official discourse in Croatia has emphasised the extent to which it has moved on from its post-conflict status, particularly as part of its accession to the EU in 2013. Yet studies of memory politics in the shifting borderlands of Eastern Europe have shown the ongoing, long-term socio-spatial impacts of past conflicts at a local level, even after, and to some extent because of, EU accession and changing border dynamics.

Those socio-spatial impacts can be better understood through a study of landscape and its diverse roles. The case studies at the centre of this dissertation draw attention to Croatian hinterland landscapes and point to the variety and intensity of local memory practices that respond to the traumas of the regional conflicts of the 1990s. I have argued that an oversight or at least an imbalance exists in the scholarship concerned with memory and post-conflict places. Urban space has received significant theoretical reflection with a proliferation of case studies on collective memory, the role of 'official' representations of the past, and post-conflict urban identities, whereas landscape or hinterland conditions have received marginal scholarly attention. In an attempt to redress this discrepancy, my research has focused on theoretical approaches that link memories of traumatic events to landscapes rather than urban sites. Particular attention has been paid to notable scholarly contributions concerning memorial places in landscapes and the diversity of memory practices observed and enacted within them (Schäuble 2011).

Chapters One and Two review, synthesise, and build on this scholarship to show that landscape plays a more explicit and critical role, both symbolically and materially, than has been recognised in debates about memory culture in the former Yugoslavia, a role that has implications for how traumatic events are remembered and how landscape is seen in contemporary Croatia. Chapters Three and Four offer primary empirical studies of two border landscapes and the monuments within them that mark violent events from the conflict in the 1990s. The analysis reveals interdependent and layered landscape identities that correspond to diverse local and official commemorative practices. The case studies build upon and complement recent scholarship in the fields of cultural geography, social anthropology, and landscape studies that argue for an understanding of landscape as a 'dynamic medium' (Mitchell [1994]; 2002, 1) in

which and through which cultural meanings and values are encoded, ‘not as a text to be read, but as a process by which social and subjective identities are formed’ (Ibid.).

Chapter Three concerns the Plitvice Lakes and the memorial to Josip Jović that is located there. Tthe annual event that officially marks both his death and the commencement of war is enacted in a landscape that has been instrumentalised for the national interests in two respects: as a natural monument to the Croatian identity, and second, as an emblem of economic prosperity (Figure 5.1). However, it is very much more. For my purposes, the landscape of a national park and the monument contained within it, as sites of national identity, are ideal for examining how such sites can be used to produce, limit, and shape discourses on nature and as I argue, discourses on conflict as well. The chapter shows how a wartime narrative critical to the state is at times misplaced or burdened by the landscape. Unlike the Socialist period memorial areas in which battle sites were made into official sites of memory, the establishment of this park as a site of natural beauty predates the ‘Bloody Easter’ event, and for that reason and others, the site and its layered narratives are in contention (Figure 5.2). The chapter analyses the annual commemorative practices carried out there, and reveals that the local community and certain survivors experience it not as an event or site that contain memory for them, but rather as things that conceal memory.

The memory of the first armed confrontation of the war is highly politicised and yet seasonally lost in this natural landscape, which has been exploited for tourism for over a hundred years. The site is increasingly one for commemoration by the state rather than remembering for the victims. The state and the park authority as its agent have an ambiguous relationship to the site, it is unsettled and its identity oscillates between a memorial that registers a violent, though heroic past, and a national parkland of symbolic importance on the European and international stage. These identities come into conflict at times in the commemorative calendar, when tourists, survivors and witnesses’ to violence become variably estranged from the narrative of conflict presented by the state. The chapter highlights the extent to which this landscape’s material and affective qualities render it a dynamic zone of contact where the response to and generation of cultural memories of conflict are found to overlap.

The case study of the minefield memorial in Lovas in Chapter Four demonstrates how a landscape creates distinctive opportunities for local memory practices in rural hinterlands in response to a traumatic event. The chapter studies how a marginalised local community has used rural practices to create a ‘cultivated bareness’ in order to commemorate the legacies of violence, and reveals the importance of seasonality and mutability more broadly in the capacity of landscape to enable local memory work. The community’s informal practices in a landscape setting contrast with more ‘fixed’ and divisive forms of memorialisation in urban memory sites like those in the neighbouring city of Vukovar.

5.1 Marked but unnamed, single memorial wreath: Plitvice Lakes National Park: 29 October 2016.

5.2 ‘Little to draw attention,’ Lovas field and memorial:
Lovas Vukovar-Sirmium County, Croatia. 17 October 2017.

Overshadowed by the memoryscape of 'the martyr city' of Vukovar, the local commemorative practices at the former minefield in Lovas have evolved with little official state attention. The commemorative practices have been site specific and linked to the field's former identity as agricultural land, bound to physical agricultural practices, such as plowing, laying fields fallow and harvesting. The recent production and promotion of a documentary film has resulted in the field and the memory of the wartime events that took place there attracting the gaze of more official recognition and ultimately state funding to construct a permanent memorial. A memorial envisioned to be more akin to the formal and nationally recognised sites of memory like those at Vukovar and Ovçara, sites that resonate with the state sanctioned narrative of the war. The delayed official attention to the clover field, turned minefield, turned commemorative field emphasises the fragility and reversibility of local memory work in the face of state-led memorialisation processes and the formalisation of landscape.

The 1990s conflict in Croatia and the post conflict period of the subsequent decades have brought changes to the two case study landscapes. However, the relationship between landscape and memory established in the socialist era remains dominant. The exploration of the two memorials reveals key dynamics and a repertoire of landscape uses that are reconfigured but not reinvented (in the same way that the post war socialist period was hugely creative in this regard). Despite the violent breakup of Yugoslavia and the upheaval of memory politics in Croatia the memorial response in these two landscapes mainly suggest continuity rather than a complete break with the past. The case study research has sought to complement the urban leanings in studies of memory work in the former Yugoslavia by considering more directly the isolated, marginal settings of everyday lives in natural and managed landscapes. A spatial perspective, as adopted in the two case studies, allows for an investigation of the hinterland that prevents a totalization of the border with a finite set of conditions and functions or a singular definable essence. Thinking of landscape in this way allows for further theorisation to consider its active and productive, as well as substantive capacities and to revise and reveal its role as more complex than either a scenic backdrop in which memory takes place or a reflection of a coherent symbolic order within discrete cultural constructions of social memory. Problematising the means by which we understand landscapes to be involved in the complex and entangled procedures of remembering, forgetting and producing counter-memory production requires an expanded notion of landscape and its material traces as complex and integral features of memorial dynamics that has implications beyond the subject of the dissertation.

Landscape Theorised Otherwise[3]

Post-conflict landscapes and the material objects linked to them (monuments, cartographic and visual representations, court records, and artistic practices such as film making) are 'unsettled' owing to the significant and constantly evolving roles they play in the formation of cultural memories of trauma. This unsettled nature is a condition of their politically discursive status, their material and affective qualities and their temporal conditions. To consider landscape as a mnemonic 'framework,' which implies a certain stability and contained 'framed-ness,' may seem appropriate given the historical roots of the artistic practice of landscape painting which have influenced its conceptualisation until relatively recently. Of course, it is not stable, and one focus of this dissertation has therefore been to reveal the constant 'framing and then re-framing' of the many layers through which a memorial landscape is perceived and trans/formed (Schramm 2001, 6).

The two case studies of Lovas and the Plitvice Lakes have shown that experiences of and in the landscapes solicit, amplify, exclude and inspire the memorial practices at work in each site. A focus upon the precarious nature of subjective experience and perception in these landscapes, and the material capacities of the landscapes to function paradoxically as both 'preserver and eraser of memory' (Wylie 2019, 134) enables me to pay attention to their ongoing local and official reconfigurations and reconstitutions. Practices of remembering and commemoration in the former minefield of Lovas and the former conflict front-line of Plitvice retain residual traces of mnemonic strategies from the Socialist era including instances of private resistance to official practice and local memorial innovations, thus signalling on balance, more continuity than rupture with the past. The relations of cultural and political power are clearly implicated in the shaping of these two memorial landscapes although expressed and sustained in different terms. In Plitvice the political elites frame the park (temporarily) in ideological, symbolic and narrative terms, while in Lovas the collective desire for the landscape to account for the local trauma, is in part to forge a connection with the wider cultural, historical and political context of public memory in postwar Croatia. By foregrounding embodied experiences, –walking, writing, drawing – and perception, –filming, photographing – as modes of encountering landscape this dissertation has explored the material and symbolic means in which memory and landscape, mutually interact. What this research reveals are two memory landscapes that are unsettled by the many layers of meaning, temporal and political, symbolic and material, rendering them and the emplaced memories associated with them fluid and dynamic. The two case studies have demonstrated that hinterland landscapes afford local people a unique spectrum of control over commemorations of violent events, and unique opportunities to develop their own 'memory cultures.'

[3] This is a play on the title of the architectural theorist David Leatherbarrow's book *Architecture Oriented Otherwise* (2009) in which he argues for a new paradigm to theorise the ways in which buildings act and contribute to new understandings.

Another specific aim of this dissertation is to add to the mounting criticism in the field of memory studies toward notions of 'single memory cultures' (Erll 2011, 8; Levy and Sznaider [2001] 2005; Huyssen 2003; Rothberg 2009), which tend to oversimplify the means by which we understand the agents involved in the complex and entangled procedures of remembering, forgetting, and counter-memory production. To acknowledge that multiple 'memory cultures' are active at any memorial site, and simultaneously to open up an expanded notion of landscape and its agency, would certainly invite further investigation within the context of Croatia and the former Yugoslavia. Two further opportunities for unsettled landscape and post-conflict theorisation arise from this dissertation: first, the further theorising of landscape to consider its active and productive as well as substantive capacities, and second, the study of its role as mnemonic 'framework,' since in this capacity it allows much scope, or rather multiple 'scapes,' for the exploration, along with various capacities to frame and re-frame the many layers of interpretation through which a memorial landscape can be perceived and (trans)formed.

5.2 Landscape Research: Future (Re)Orientations

The EU memory-scape: New Mnemonical Practices and Narratives

In scholarly debates surrounding memory in the Former Yugoslavia, the term 'official' has primarily been used to describe nationalist or ethno-religious memory practices and the associated efforts of the political elite to control and monitor expressions of grief and victimhood (Ballinger 2002; Verdery 2000), while 'local' and 'unofficial' have referred more to spontaneous and non-institutional practices for remembering and forgetting violence (Schäuble 2014). Much of the scholarship concerning social memory, however, contests any static model that offers binary distinctions between dominant and subaltern forms of memory and accepts that not only are memories themselves being constantly produced, altered, and abandoned (Starzmann 2016, 6), but also that there are additional layers of wider collective social processes through which recollections are continuously shaped and reshaped.

In recognition of this complexity, there is increasing research on the representational and inscriptive powers of supra-national agents to impose or resist particular memorial constructs in the Balkans. These agents include the European Union (EU) and in particular, the European Commission (EC) and Parliament (EP), as well as the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY).[4] Within the developing literature on the EU memory framework and the impact of that framework on the ascending states' domestic memory practices, it is possible to situate further research on Croatian

[4] Research concerned with the Europeanization of memory has been conducted for at least twenty years. A sample of this expanding literature includes: (Müller 2002); (A. Assmann 2006); (Mälksoo 2009); (Milošević 2017); (Pakier *et al.* 2010). For the role of retributive and transitional justice, the ICTY and post conflict reconciliation in the Balkans see: (Peskin and Boduszyński 2003); (Pavlaković 2008); (Jović 2009); (Nettlefield 2010); (Nettlefield and Wagner 2014); (Subotić 2011); (Touquet and Vermeersch 2016).

landscapes.[5] This would open up questions regarding the cultural value of landscapes as memorial sites and their roles in the production and reproduction of variable notions of national and European identities with implications for persistent tensions found in contemporary Croatian memory politics.

Since accession, mnemonic practices in Croatia such as commemorations, invested with symbolism and serving as important elements of identity formation, have been both shaped by and adapted to EU memory politics (Milošević 2017; Karge 2010). The degree to which the EU intervenes in the domestic politics of memory must be understood in relation to the extent to which member states passively absorb EU historical narratives or actively incorporate their own 'policy preferences, practices, and narratives' (Ibid., 894). In this sense, Europeanization and the transference of interpretations of history have been described as a 'two way process' (Börzel 2011; Milošević 2017). Memory is critical to a state's ontological security (Subotić 2018) and as political memory constitutes state identities (Olick and Robbins, 1998), a selective biographical narrative is required (Volkan 1997; Kinnvall 2004; Berenskoetter 2014).[6] This is one that privileges certain events, myths and symbols to create an identity of the political community that is oriented in time. Memorial and commemorative sites such as Vukovar have become politically expedient for the expanded context of narrative construction in this process as parties seek to shape and influence the EU policies that all members (and prospective members) are obliged to follow.

The European Union, like collective identities more generally, requires 'both a common goal for the future and common points of reference in the past' (Assmann 2007, 12). The unification project is based on a normative agenda for integration guided by the value it places on the basic rights of democratic civil society as compulsory for all member states (Ibid.). The past comes into play in the construction of a common memory framework and a European narrative focused on the shared experience of suffering under totalitarian regimes (Milošević and Touquet 2018; Sierp 2014), a history that includes the Holocaust and increasingly, since 1989, and with the EU's enlargement to the East, Communist and Stalinist crimes (Mink and Neumayer 2013). As Kansteiner writes (2006, 120) following the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War Two in 1995, there have been continual attempts to transform the memories of wartime aggression and occupation into a more consistent 'shared and self-critical memory

[5] Milošević and Touquet (2018, 382) use the term 'EU memory framework' to refer to the 'collection of policies, resolutions and decisions by the European Commission and the European Parliament (EP) that reflect and guide collective moral and political attitudes towards the past.' I use the same terminology here, as the EC and EP are the mechanisms through which member states (and aspiring member states) discuss joint remembrance practices and have produced transnational acknowledgement and symbolic recognition of national narratives of past experiences and events through a significant number of resolutions concerned with the past thirty years (Neumayer 2015).

[6] Subotić (2018) argues that post-communist states are currently dealing with conflicting sources of ontological insecurity and to resolve these insecurities they are radically revising their respective Holocaust memory, symbols and imagery in order to appropriate them to represent crimes of communism. She further argues that the rejection of the cosmopolitan European narratives of the Holocaust have also removed anti-fascist resistance from its core memory of Holocaust thus allowing for a revival and normalisation of contemporary fascist ideological movements in Croatia.

of an era of European human rights abuses that unites former victims, perpetrators, and bystanders, and lends legitimacy to the European Union' (cf. Mälksoo 2009). With the accession of post-Communist states, the EU memory framework requires amendment to accommodate their alternate or counter-hegemonic European narratives of the immediate past.

Milošević and Touquet (2018) have argued that this memory framework is not part of EU conditionality for acceding states, although they do claim that the EP has exerted 'soft pressure to align with its resolutions and decisions as a prescribed model' (2018, 384). Others contend that over the last decade, the EP has changed tack from the advocacy of symbolic politics to the 'active construction of shared European narratives' (Sierp and Wüstenberg 2015, 325). In terms of Croatia's accession, Pavlaković and Perak have argued that the relationship between memory and membership was much more prescribed, as 'the country needed to adopt European paradigms of remembrance, particularly in relation to the Holocaust in order to facilitate its entry into the EU' (2017, 280). EP initiatives to reconcile eastern and western European historical narratives also include resolutions on 'European conscience and totalitarianism' (2009) and the 'European Day of Remembrance for the Victims of all Authoritarian and Totalitarian Regimes' (2009).[7] These resolutions offer a transnational reading of the past, 'an overarching, anti-totalitarian interpretation of European history' (Milošević 2017, 894) and thus corresponding opportunities to commemorate and publicly acknowledge shared suffering.

Locating these transnational memories in commemorative landscapes will present opportunities to explore tensions related to the complexities of their appropriations by local, state, supra-state and juridical action. It has been argued in this dissertation that the cultural value of landscape plays a significant role in the production and reproduction of unsettled notions of local and national identities based on reading of the past. There is a clear opportunity to extend this analysis to trans-European identities to expose and unsettle the memory narratives of multi state-mandated memorials and encourage intersections of landscape research with scholarship that examines the relations between the 'locatedness' and global dimensions of memory, as mobile, circulating transnational memory (Radstone 2011; Assmann and Conrad 2010; Erll 2011; De Cesari and Rigney 2014).

Landscape Agencies and Conflict Sites

This dissertation has argued that there are dimensions to our traditional understandings of landscape that would seem to insist on and necessitate fixed definitions, instances in which one would expect to find landscape as a settled concept, for example in officially prescribed memorial areas. This insistence is an

[7] The government of Croatia adopted the European Day of Remembrance of Victims of All Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes in 2011.

enduring positivistic shadow, cast not in terms of ecology and the natural sciences, or the tendencies to make sites of historical violence stable in the context of official historiography, but in terms of the legacy of the relationship between landscape and law. The role law plays in the entanglement of humans and nonhumans has become the interest of recent work, mainly by human geographers, in which the focus is the everyday and the roles of regulation and governance in the material places in which people live their lives and in particular, how regulation and governance leads to attempts at landscape fixity.[8]

The law may be seen as an ordering mechanism par excellence, a system in which landscape is represented devoid of its affective or symbolic qualities and with its changeability made static, even though this could never be a lasting ordering. For the sake of the juridical, landscape may appear only as a material entity; a series of geographic coordinates in territorial disputes that demarcate crime sites; and at times, due to its material nature, it is required to provide forensic evidence. The redefinition of the relationship between landscape and the law proposed by theorists like Olwig, however, offers an opportunity for an expanded interpretation of unsettled landscapes and their potential to serve an enlarged purpose in contemporary critiques of social justice. This requires a shift in emphasis 'from a definition of landscape as scenery to a notion of landscape as polity and place'(Olwig 2005, 293). Considerations of the issues of power and hegemony at all levels, from small villages like Lovas, to world natural heritage sites like the Plitvice Lakes, to entire nation-states must become more significant, and all possibilities of agency must be accounted for when considering conflict and post-hostility landscapes and their roles in the extraordinary as well as ordinary conditions of human lives.

Although Olwig does not particularly apply his insights to contemporary post-hostility or post-atrocity landscapes, his distinctively cultural, political, and legal approach to understanding these landscapes would appear to have clear purchase in their study.[9] These are disorderly and unsettled sites in which the trauma of war has radically changed the relationship between people and land. Furthermore, as shown in this thesis, conflict has implicated landscape in the interruption of existing cultural practices, laws and customs in which contests over identity and justice are ongoing. When landscape is considered 'the expression of the practices of habitation through which the habitus of place is generated and laid down as custom and law upon the physical fabric of the land,' (Olwig 2002, 226) what can a substantive view of landscape reveal when there is a breakdown of custom and law?[10] What is expressed during the subsequent periods of transitional justice as recovering nation-states and other supra-national actors, like the International Criminal Court, attempt to re-establish the rule of law? Can we expect to find the

[8] Concerned with issues of memory, conflict and justice and with post structuralist interests in discourse and identity, these theories are often informed by the critical studies of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and Michel de Certeau (1984) and the radical landscape analyses of geographers Don Mitchell (2001, 2003) and Mitch Rose (2002a; 2002b).
[9] *Bosnian Bones and Spanish Ghosts* http://bosnianbonesspanishghosts.com/BBSG/ accessed: January 6, 2017.
[10] Olwig (2009, 30) incorporates the notion of 'habitus of practice' proposed by Bourdieu (1977).

ordering practices and discourses of the juridical to have left some mark on the post-conflict landscape? If so, how does it manifest - as new customs and practices connected to the altered landscape? Or does the juridical have a spectral presence in the material landscape while its actions have a very real impact in courts hundreds of miles away?

Questions like these may be used to further research specific landscapes in this substantive sense, whereby single fields and mined woodlands are considered in terms that uncover their relationship to the dynamics of power and justice. The impact of the juridical on the land may be difficult to define, trace or represent, but nevertheless we know it has a presence. Particular details of sites of execution, detention, and mass burial in fields, grain stores and ditches, can be found in the legal transcripts of the regional court in Belgrade and the International Criminal Court in The Hague.[11] What cannot be found in the legal documents is what then happened to these sites and to the survivors of each traumatic event. What identified these sites in the court register as a location of an indictable offence during the internecine war in the Former Yugoslavia, was a set of geographic coordinates used to verify and orient witness testimony. The identities of clover field, roadside ditch, or copse of trees found in the court records are constrained by the ordering discourse of legal testimony and the quest for the establishment of fact. In a court of law, the landscape is called upon to serve as a material witness.[12] However, only one layer is formed as these processes leave their traces and are added to other layers.

As this thesis has argued, landscape can animate practices and ideologies of political representation, of justice, and of custom as well as serve as a visual and spatial idea. It can reflect the juridical and political landscape as much as representing a distancing aesthetic concept. As Rose has said (2002, 465), is it not so much what landscape *is,* that needs to be considered, so much as what landscape *is used for*? The 'duplicity of landscape,' is an idea developed by Stephen Daniels in studying imperial projects, it reveals the capacity of landscape to 'harmonize to the eye the struggles and tensions entailed in appropriating and transforming natures and space for material human use…with the veneer of harmony, order and beauty across contradictions faced during construction of the modern state' (1989, 2). I argue that similar processes may also be at work in post-conflict reconstruction and memorial projects. The landscape can

[11] International Court of Justice. Case concerning the Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Croatia v. Yugoslavia) Memorial of the Republic of Croatia. Annexes Regional Files. Volume 2 Part 1. Pg. 15. Witness Statements Lovas pp. 281-330.

[12] The idea of landscape as material witness is similar to the treatment of architecture by the conflict research group Forensic Architecture based at Goldsmiths University, which produces architectural evidence on behalf of international prosecutors, human rights organisations and political and environmental justice groups. See also Herscher (2010) on the significance of the destruction of architecture for understanding violence in the Kosovo Conflict and the role architecture played to represent the alleged actions of defendants on trial. The written and exhibition work 'The Evidence Room' (2016) by Anne Bordeleau, Sascha Hastings, Robert Jan van Pelt and Donald McKay explored the roles architecture played in the construction of Auschwitz and Holocaust denial testimony in a libel suit argued before the Royal Courts of Justice in London in 2000. These projects focused specifically on architecture rather than the landscapes in which the built work or its remains are to be found.

be duplicitous as both the representation of and the setting for constructed narratives which can mask the markings of periods of re-appropriation, reterritorialization, and spatial disruption following the trauma of conflict. Perhaps, with further study, more ephemeral entanglements of the legal and political presences in the landscape will emerge.

The memory of violence and its commemoration always transform the landscape within which the violence was wrought, and conversely, through enabling and mediating acts of commemoration, the landscape transforms how state and local actors engage in and adapt their ways of remembering. The perception of a violent event and the landscape in which it was inscribed vary amongst individuals and groups, with both impacted by the passing of time; indeed, neither place nor memory remain static, but are elastic and contingent. Additionally, new events may layer themselves onto the landscape over time; these may include layers of new conflict, but also layers of mitigation and reconciliation (Paludan-Müller 2015; Rigney 2012). The dynamic relationships amongst groups and actors engaged with the memories, narratives, and symbolic values attached to a site result in heterogeneous and unsettled outcomes for memorial landscapes, eluding final and stable understandings of their interpretation and their management.

INTERVIEWS

Attributed Interviews

Interviews conducted by the author from 2016-2018, with a summary of their relationship to the case study site in the relevant period. Note: the following interlocutors have given their permission to use their names for the purpose of this research.

Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, Bojana: Professor and Head of the Department of Urban Planning, Spatial Planning and Landscape Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, University of Zagreb. Interview at the faculty, Zagreb, Croatia. 5 December, 2018.

Cirba, Tanya: Mayor of Lovas or head of Lovas Municipality (Opčina Lovas). Municipal offices, Lovas, Croatia. 18 October 2017.

Ivanković, Anton: Film producer (of the documentary film of the minefield even in Lovas) and Vukovar resident.

Ivanuš, Martina: Consultant conservator for Training, Professional Development and International Cooperation, Croatian Conservation Institute. PhD dissertation: 'Architecture and Physical Planning in Plitvice Lakes National Park from 1881 to the end of the 20th Century' (University of Zagreb, 2013). Skype interview: 12-13 December 2018.

Kleiser, Andreas: Director for Policy and Cooperation International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP). The only international organisation dedicated to this issue. The Hague, Netherlands. 12 January, 2017.

Mujić, Ivan: Deputy Mayor of Lovas and survivor of the minefield event. Interviewed on multiple occasions at the municipal buildings in Lovas, the community centre and the memorial field: 16-20 October 2016; 17-18 October 2017; 03-07 December 2018.

Supina, Ana: Graduate student and Tutorial Assistant Department of Urban Planning, Spatial Planning and Landscape Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, University of Zagreb. Interview at the faculty, Zagreb, Croatia. 5 December, 2018.

Trohe, Željko: Vukovar resident and translator. Multiple interviews in Vukovar, Lovas municipal offices, and the memorial field in Lovas. 16-20 October 2016; 17-18 October 2017; 03-07 December 2018.

Anonymised Interviews

Note: the following names have been changed or are anonymised. The dates listed refer to all meetings with the interlocutors including both formal interviews in which quotations were attributed and informal meetings with the interlocutor.

Marjana: School teacher and Plitvice Lakes tour guide until recent retirement. Lived near the park for over thirty years. Mother of Luka, my translator and park guide. Interviewed at her home in Rakovica, a village near the entrance of the Plitvice Lakes National Park. 26 – 27 August 2017.

Luka: Student and park guide in his early twenties, act as translator and guide. 16-18 March 2017; 25-27 August 2017.

Vukovar residents: Café and restaurant patrons informal interviews 24 November 2016; 16 October 2017; 03 December 2018.

Vukovar municipal Museum worker: 18 October 2017.

Conservation Department of the Ministry of Culture in Vukovar officer: 9 December 2018.

Plitvice tourists, tourist kiosk workers, ferry pilots, and hotel workers: 24-27 October 2016; 25-28 March 2017; 24-28 August 2017; 17-21 April 2018.

Lovas residents and minefield survivors: 17-18 October 2017; 03-07 December 2018.

Member of Women in Black: 18 October 2017.

COURT RECORDS and RELATED DOCUMENTS

ICTY: International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and Regional Court Records:

Transcripts of witness testimonies, exhibits, and other court documents. All fully referenced in the footnotes, as 'ICTY-[Case][Date]: [Witness name/Exhibit number (E-#) (Description of witness function or exhibit, where needed)], [Transcript or page reference, where needed]'. Available from: www.icty.org/action/cases/4 and icr.icty.org.

ICJ: International Criminal Court of Justice

Various documentation from Croatia vs. Yugoslavia, fully referenced in footnotes. Available from: www.icj-cij.org/court/

Case Concerning the Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Croatia vs. Yugoslavia) Annexes (Lovas). Available from: https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/118/18174.pdf.

HMDC-DR: The Croatian Memorial and Documentation Centre of the Homeland War (Hrvatski Memorijalno-Dokumentacijski Centar Domovinskog Rata)

All documents are fully referenced in the footnotes, as 'HMDC-DR, Knjiga [#], Document [#], [Document description where needed], pp. [#]'.

Domestic War Crimes Trials

Reports on trials in Croatia, from: http://www.centar-za-mir.hr/

Court transcripts, and reports on trials, in Serbia, from: http://www.hlc-rdc.org/

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNESCO, (1996) Report of the expert meeting on evaluation of general principles and criteria for nomination of natural World Heritage Sites, Parc national de la Vanoise, France, (22-24 March), Paris, (15 April), WHC-96/conf.202/inf.9, para. 3. Available from http: //whc.unesco.org/archive/1996/whc-96-conf202-inf9e.pdf/

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UNESCO (1996) WHC-96/CONF.201/INF.14. *Report of the Multinational Rapid Assessment Mission to Plitvice Lakes National Park* (Croatia, 5-9 May 1996). Available from: https://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/868/

IUCN/UNESCO/EUROPARC (1992) Joint Mission to the Plitvice Lakes National Park, (18-27 September). Available from: https://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/140490/

IUCN (1992) Expert Mission Report, Plitvice Lakes National Park. Available from: https://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/140492/

Croatian Sabor

'Narodne Novine' of the Croatian Sabor, available at: http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/.

International, Regional and Local Media

All articles are fully referenced in the footnotes.

The Guardian (London).

BBC World News (London), available from: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/

Reuters News (London), available from: http://reuters.com/

Balkan Insight, available from: http: //www.balkaninsight.com/

Lovas Municipal Gazette, available from: https://www.lovas.hr/

Croatian Radio and Television Network, available from: https://glashrvatske.hrt.hr/en/news/

Lika-Senj County news, available from: http://likaplus.hr/

Večernji List Croatian daily newspaper (Zagreb), available from: https://m.vecernji.hr/

Narodne Novine News Gazette (Zagreb), available from: https//www.nn.hr/

Internet Resources

All internet resources are fully referenced in the footnotes.

The Croatian Office of Mine Action Reporting (OMA) reports to the Prime Minister's Office. A summary of the treaty status and mine action management in English found at: cluster munition http://www.the-monitor.org/en-gb/reports/2019/croatia/mine-action.aspx/

Official Jasenovac memorial site: http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=6560/

Jasenovac Memorial site for Donja Gradina: http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=6746/

Government of the Republic of Croatia. Jasenovac Memorial Museum and Education Center page: Jasenovac: otvoren Memorijalni muzej i Obrazovni centar. https://vlada.gov.hr/vijesti/jasenovac-otvoren-memorijalni-muzej-i-obrazovni-centar/5524/

Research project funded by the Croatian Science foundation at the University of Rijeka: 'Framing the Nation and Collective Identity in Croatia: Political Rituals and the Cultural Memory of the Twentieth Century Traumas, available from: http://framnat.eu/

'Heroes We Love' is a collaborative project between institutional and non-institutional partners regarding contemporary art practices and research work on the topic of socialist heritage of the 20th Century. Available from: https://heroeswelove.wordpress.com/

Collaborative scholarly and cultural heritage project '(In)appropriate Monuments' (*Neprimjereni Spomenici*), available from: https://inappropriatemonuments.org/en/

Grupa Spomenik (Monument Group) broadly active in the fields of art practice and theory, based in Belgrade producing exhibitions and publications, available from: https://grupaspomenik.wordpress.com/

The Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Croatia (*Republika Hrvatska Ministarstvo Obrane -MOD*) https://www.morh.hr/en/

Bosnian Bones and Spanish Ghosts (2010-2014) research project at Goldsmiths University, London, available from: http://bosnianbonesspanishghosts.com/BBSG/

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